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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION,

BY

## EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. THUCYD.

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.* CICERO.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

# ENGLAND,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

32065

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;

ALSO

THE UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

VOL. VIII.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXVI.

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# A SHORT VIEW

OF THE

# STATE AND CONDITION

OF

# IRELAND.

JER. ii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

*Is Israel a servant? is he a homeborn slave? why is he spoiled?*

*The young lions roared upon him, and yelled, and they made his land waste: his cities are burned without inhabitant.*

*Also the children of Noph and Tahapanes have broken the crown of thy head.*

*Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way?*

The preface of the author. Job xxxii. 20.

*I WILL speak that I may be refreshed,* saith the wisest and least faulty of Job's friends, when he was wearied and tired with the impertinence and insolence of the others; *Eloquar ut respiratio sit mihi,* saith our Latin translation, I will speak that I may breathe. It is a very great pain to hear men speak ignorantly, and impertinently, and wickedly, and not to have liberty to control or disprove them; no suffocation can be more unpleasant than such a forced silence; to hear virtuous and worthy actions declaimed and inveighed against, and virtuous an

worthy men censured, traduced, and reproached fo doing what they ought, and by their duty are obliged to do, whilst unlawful and sinful actions are justified or commended, and their abettors magnified and extolled; and not to reply to those malicious discourses: to be forced to hear our natural sovereign (an innocent and pious prince) slandered and accused with reproaches, calumnies, lies, and aspersions, notoriously false, and easy to be made to appear to be so, and to keep silence: to see and hear God himself profaned and blasphemed, his omnipotence questioned and slighted, his justice disputed, and his anger derided: to hear murder, treason, and rebellion vindicated and maintained, as committed and propagated by the infusion and direction of his Spirit, and his blessed name invoked and challenged for defence and support of such a mass of wickedness, and not to open a man's mouth against the horrid blasphemy, is not only more vexation, grief, and torment of mind, but really more sharp, sensible, and piercing pain to the inward and nobler parts of a wise and honest man, than what the outward limbs are subject to by the gout, toothach, or rack itself. Never age subjected men to this kind of trouble and pain more than the present; when, to the persecution that good men undergo in the loss of their fortunes and lives, in their banishment from their friends, their families, and their country, and the wants and necessities which naturally attend that sad condition, this circumstance is added, (a circumstance which most persecutions have been without,) that they are pursued with reproaches of not having done their parts in resisting the rude torrent which hath overborne them, (when they bear

all the honourable marks of doing and suffering,) oftentimes with calumnies of a baser allay, of complying with the public enemies, when (next to the public) their particular merit and virtue have been with the greatest envy, malice, and fury, detested and persecuted by those enemies, and with such other scandals and unworthy aspersions, as may alienate the affections of the beholders, and deprive them of that compassion, honour, and justice, which is due from all the world to their courage, wisdom, and integrity. And this kind of effeminate distemper too often rages in the breasts of those who come, in some degree, to be joint-sufferers with the other in the common calamities; who, having been originally guilty of making those breaches, at which greater, or, rather, other wickedness hath broken in, than they, it may be, at first intended, instead of acknowledging their own folly and madness, labour rather to traduce those who hindered them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevailed further than they desired they should have done.

The occasion of this treatise.

There needs no other instance, how many more soever may be given, of this petulant and unchristian humour, than the licence which hath been and still is taken, by some of the Romish clergy of the Irish nation, (in some printed pamphlets, whereby they would move the Christian world to take compassion on them,) to lay aspersions and unworthy imputations upon the king, who is in heaven, who used all imaginable princely endeavours to have reduced and preserved them, after they had most rebelliously provoked him, and upon his majesty that now is, (whose faithful subjects they seem to desire

to be thought and accounted,) and upon the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant of that kingdom, who (having served their majesties with the greatest courage and magnanimity, and upon the most abstracted considerations of honour and conscience, and thereby struck so great a reverence of his virtues, even into his enemies, that though they hated and feared him most, yet they have never reproached or reviled him) is now forced, by some unquiet and unworthy spirits of his own country, to undergo those *flagella linguæ*, the strokes of the tongue, from which only the omnipotence of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and most excellent persons: and though the old receipt and prescription of *spreta exolescunt*, may to many seem fit to be applied to these odious ebullitions, and that to take the least notice of such lewd discourses (which flow from no other fountain but that of malice and ignorance) is to do them too much credit; yet, since the judgment of the most upright and wisest men may be corrupted by the mistaking matters of fact, and since the titular bishop of Ferns (for it will be no presumption to say, though the pope may make bishops, he cannot dispose of bishoprics within the king of Great Britain's dominions) hath thought fit to publish a little book in his own name, and industriously to disperse the same into all parts, and among such persons who can be presumed to know little of the affairs of Ireland, otherwise than they are informed; and in that book to lay many reproaches upon his own lawful sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the person of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom, the marquis of Ormond, (whom his lordship ought not to mention without reverence,)

and in that manner as if he were the mouth, and spake the words of that whole nation: I have not only thought it a debt to truth and justice, but a respect to that unhappy and oppressed nation, (of which very many noble persons have behaved themselves with notable fidelity to their prince,) and even an act of charity to the Roman catholic faith, (which may undergo some scandal from the licence and distemper of such discourses,) to endeavour to preserve the minds of men from being wrought upon by those infusions, and corrupted by those misinformations.

The happy condition of Ireland before the year 1640.

For the better doing whereof, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the true state and condition of the kingdom of Ireland, before the year 1640, and of those material passages which since that time have, in the opinion of the bishop, or in truth, contributed to the full calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discerned where the fault hath been, and from whence the misfortune hath proceeded. In doing whereof, I shall allege no matter of fact, of which there is not unquestionable evidence, nor make any deductions or conclusions which do not naturally result from those actions, leaving the history of the memorable acts which have passed on either side, in the managery of that war, to those who have better means and skill to compose the same, having in truth no other end in this work, than to vindicate the most entire persons from the most unreasonable calumnies; to undeceive those who are imposed upon by untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the deceivers to those ingenuous and Christian courses which can best advance their own pretensions and real interest. It is not the bishop's calling the ten years' war in Ire-

land, *sanctum justissimumque bellum*, nor his saying that they have undergone the most constant and severe persecution for their profession of the catholic religion for the space of one hundred and thirty years, that can make the happy and blessed condition forgotten, which that nation was possessed of before their own (to say no worse) unskilful rage and fury brought this war upon them. They have now leisure enough, and I hope spirits better prepared, to revolve the wonderful plenty, peace, and security they enjoyed till the year 1641, when they wantonly and disdainfully flung those blessings from them; the increase of traffic, the improvement of land, the erection of buildings, and whatsoever else might be profitable and pleasant to a people, which were advantages and ornaments that the policy and industry of that nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquired by the skill and labour of the English, planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them: taxes, tallages, and contributions, were things hardly known to them by their names: whatever their land, labour, or industry produced, was their own; being not only free from the fear of having it taken from them by the king, upon any pretence whatsoever, without their own consent, but also so secured against thieves and robbers, by due execution of good laws, that men might and did travel over all the parts of the kingdom with great sums of money, unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious state of affairs be or was undervalued, under the notion of being but temporal blessings, and the want of freedom alleged in the exercise of the Romish religion, to which that nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied,

that (though by the laws and constitution of that kingdom the power and authority of the bishop of Rome is not in any degree allowed or submitted unto) the whole nation enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion, and even in Dublin (where the seat of the king's chief governor was) they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions, as he went to his: bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of the secular and regular clergy, were known to live, and exercise their functions amongst them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which necessity, and the wisdom of former ages, had caused to be enacted, to suppress those acts of treason and rebellion which that people frequently then fell into, and the policy of the present times kept unrepealed, to prevent the like distempers and designs; yet the edge of those laws was so totally abated by the clemency and compassion of the king, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in or for his religion; which is another kind of indulgence than the subjects professing a faith contrary to what is established by the law of the land can boast of, in any other kingdom of the world. In this blessed condition of peace and security, the English and Irish, the protestants and the Roman catholics, lived mingled together in all the provinces of the kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy reign of king James; and from his death, every degree of their happiness was increased and improved under the government of his late majesty, as long as they contained themselves within the bounds of duty and allegiance towards him. The wealth of the kingdom was exceedingly in-

creased by the importation of great store of money thither, and a wonderful increase of trade; several new and profitable manufactories were introduced and erected, whereby the inhabitants were set on work, and the land generally improved, by applying it to several sorts of good husbandry, which that people had been utterly unacquainted with. Roman catholic landlords had protestant tenants, and many protestant landlords Roman catholic tenants. Friendships, nay marriages, were very frequently contracted between them, and all passion, at least all visible animosities, which flow from the differences of those professions, laid aside or suppressed, till, in the year 1640, when they discerned some distempers arising in England upon the Scots invasion, and the support and countenance that people found in both houses of parliament, they would likewise bear their part, and bring in their contribution to the work in hand. Then they began to transplant those humours of jealousy and discontent, which they found springing up seditiously in the parliament at Westminster, into Ireland; and, with the same passion and distemper, cherished them in the other at Dublin. So they accused, upon general and unreasonable imputations, the principal counsellors and ministers of state, who were intrusted by the crown in that kingdom; of high treason; and thereby, according to the rule then unjustly prescribed at Westminster, removed them from any power over the affairs there, whose wisdom might probably else have prevented the mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they childishly concurred with the greatest enemies their nation or religion had, in the conspiracy against the life of the earl of

The seeds of the civil war in Ireland.

Strafford, lord lieutenant of that kingdom, by whose wisdom and government that kingdom had reaped great advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and sent a committee from Dublin to Westminster, to join in prosecution of him; and having in the end procured the miserable (and never to be enough lamented) ruin of that great person, they powerfully opposed and hindered the conferring of that charge upon any of those his majesty had designed it to, and got it devolved into such hands as were most unlike to grapple with the difficulties they were sure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost power, fomented the divisions in England, and discountenanced and weakened the royal power in Ireland, by raising the same factions against it there, on a sudden, upon the 23d day of October, according to that computation, in the year of our Lord 1641, without the least pretence of a quarrel or hostility so much as apprehended by the protestants, great multitudes of Irish Roman catholics in the province of Ulster, and shortly after in other provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized upon the towns, castles, and houses belonging to protestants, which by their force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous circumstances of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, murdered an incredible number of protestants, men, women, and children promiscuously, and without distinction of age or sex. Of all those who were within the reach of their power, they who escaped best were robbed of all they had to their very skins, and so turned naked to endure the sharpness of that season; and by that means, and for want of relief,

The massacre.

many thousands of them perished by hunger and cold. The design which at the same time was laid for the surprise of the castle of Dublin (the residence of the king's chief governor, and his majesty's principal magazine of arms and ammunition, wherewith it was then plentifully stored) being discovered by a person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that place was left securely to consult of the best means to oppose that torrent which was like to overwhelm the kingdom; and for a refuge to the poor protestants, who from all parts of the kingdom flocked thither, despoiled, robbed, and stripped, with the sad relation of the most inhuman cruelties and murders exercised upon their friends, kindred, and neighbours, which have ever been heard of among Christians; and in this manner, and with these circumstances, began that war which the bishop of Ferns calls most just and holy.

The Irish not generally concerned in it.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to lay the imputation of this rebellion and savage cruelty upon all the Irish nation, and the catholics of that kingdom, of whom many persons of honour were never in the least degree tainted with that corruption; but, on the contrary, have always given as signal testimonies of their affection and duty to the king, and of their detestation of that odious and bloody defection, as any of his subjects of either of his majesty's other kingdoms have done, and whose memories must with equal justice and care be transmitted to posterity, as precious examples of honour and integrity. Others were, by the passion and rigour of those who were then in authority, (and had power enough to destroy whom they had inclination to suspect or accuse,) driven to put themselves into the

protection of those whose ways and courses they totally disapproved; and many, who were by misinformation and misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving of the war and insurrection, were enemies to those actions of bloody rapine and inhumanity which dishonour any war, and grew quickly willing to repair the breaches they had made, and to return to that duty which they had violated: but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to beseech those of that nation, whether clergy or laity, who, in respect of the present weight of calamities, under which they are oppressed, may be worthy of compassion, to remember, that, though they now continue this war with innocence and justice, they first entered into it with extreme guilt, and prosecuted it with extreme and unnecessary cruelty; and that though they now lawfully defend themselves, their country, and their king against the worst and most merciless of tyrants, they had never been driven to these exigencies, or undergone these devouring afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of kings: and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first transgression, is like to be the most Christian and the most catholic expedient to persuade God Almighty to protect and relieve them in their present sufferings and intolerable pressures; and the contrary and most unprelatical temper, the defending and justifying the war from the beginning to be most just and holy, and that most horrible rage and fury in the prosecution of it to be the pious means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy war, may probably indispose that Pro-

vidence from taking any pity on them, or preserving them from a total extirpation.

A foul stratagem of the Irish.

One circumstance of unhappy and impious policy must not be forgotten, by which the bold authors of that unnatural war, in the first entrance into it, promised to themselves notable advantages; and which in truth (as most of the policy of that kind usually is turned to the ruin of the politician) brought unspeakable misery and devastation upon that whole country and nation. For the better inducing the people, (who, having lived long in peace and amity with the English, were not without some reverence to that government, and so could not in plain and direct terms be easily led into an avowed rebellion against their king,) they not only declared, and with great skill and industry published throughout the kingdom, that they took arms for the king, and defence of his lawful prerogative, against the puritanical parliament of England, which, they said, invaded it in many parts; but that what they did was by his majesty's consent, approbation, and authority; and to that purpose produced and shewed a commission, to which they had fixed an impression of the great seal of England, which they had taken off from some grant or patent which had regularly and legally passed; and so it was not hard to persuade weak and unexperienced persons to believe, that it was a true and real commission from the king: and by this foul stratagem they cast so odious an imputation upon the king, and upon those persons who were worthily nearest his affections and counsels, (that seditious party in England, who were then contriving all the mischief they have since brought

The fatal consequences of it.

to pass, using all their arts to propagate those horrible calumnies, and to infuse into the hearts of the people an irreverence and jealousy of the king, queen, and those of nearest trust to either of them,) that his majesty was even compelled, for his own vindication, and lest he might be thought too faint a prosecutor of an enemy, whose insurrections it was said himself had fomented, to commit the whole management of that war to his two houses of parliament, who again interested and intrusted such members of their own body with the ordering and directing of the same, as were resolved, with most passion, uncharitableness, and violence, to prosecute that whole nation, and that religion that was most generally exercised there. Thus were all the persons, that were to conduct both the civil and martial affairs in Ireland, drawn to a dependance upon the two houses of parliament at Westminster; all the officers and commanders for that war nominated or approved by them; all money raised for that service issued and disposed only by their orders: and, by these means, they, who craftily intended to draw a support and countenance to themselves by using the king's name to purposes he abhorred, sottishly defrauded and deprived themselves of that protection and mercy, which his majesty would willingly have vouchsafed to them for their reduction and preservation. For, from this time, when any thing was proposed of extravagancy or overmuch rigour, which the proposers said was necessary for the carrying on that war, if the king made any scruple or pause in giving his consent to the same, they straight declared they were obstructed in sending relief to the poor protestants of Ire-

land, and then published some particular relations of the lamentable and inhuman massacres made there by the Irish, which were confirmed by multitudes of miserable undone people, who landed from thence in the several parts of England; who likewise reported the rebels' discourses, of executing all by the king's direction: so that indeed it was not in his power to deny any thing which they thought fit to say was necessary to the good work in hand. Thus he was compelled to put all the strong holds, towns, and castles in the province of Ulster, into the possession of the Scots, who were at that time, by the great managers, believed to be more worthy to be trusted than the English, with unusual circumstances of power, and even a kind of independency upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland; and when his majesty desired them to reconsider their own propositions, and reflect how much it might trench upon the English interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advised his majesty to that delay, was an enemy to the kingdom, and a promoter of the rebellion in Ireland. Thus his majesty was necessitated to consent to that bill, by which too great a latitude is given for the disposal of lands, in the several provinces of that kingdom, to those who have adventured money in the war; and which, without the interposition, shelter, and mercy of the sovereign power, would give up almost all that whole people and their fortunes to the disposal of their cruel enemies. And lastly, by this groundless and accursed calumny, thus raised upon the king, full power was devolved into their hands, who too much imitated the fury and inhumanity of the Irish in the carrying on the war, and proceeded with such rigour and

cruelty in the shedding of blood, as was most detested by his majesty's gracious and merciful disposition.

When the rebellion broke out in England, and the king was thereby compelled to take up arms for his own defence, and had seen the men and money, raised by his authority for the relief of Ireland, employed by his English rebels against himself, and so his protestant subjects in that kingdom, upon the matter, deserted, or at least unprovided for; and the strength and power of the Roman catholics increasing, and every day improved by assistance and aid from abroad; his majesty believed they had made the worst use of all the slanders and reproaches which were raised against him, and began to interpose his own royal authority a little more than he could formerly do, in managing the affairs of Ireland, and made such an alteration in the government there, by removing one of the lord justices, who was most addicted to the English rebels, and most applicable to their ends, and putting a moderate and discreet person in the place, that his majesty's honour and commands, and the public interest of the kingdom, were more regarded, and the power which the English parliament had unreasonably assumed there, less considered. His majesty likewise granted more absolute power and jurisdiction in military affairs to the marquis of Ormond than he had before, well knowing, that as he was a person of the most ancient honour, and the greatest and noblest fortune within that kingdom, and of a very signal affection to the crown, upon the most abstracted considerations of conscience, duty, and integrity; so that being of that nation, and too much

The cruel prosecution of the war by the parliament.

concerned in their peace and happiness to wish an extirpation of it, he would carry on the war with less unnecessary severity and devastation, than had been used; which was like to prove the most effectual way to purge that people from the despair they had swallowed, and dispose them to return to their duty and allegiance. And it will not be denied, that from this time, (however the Irish were defeated always in battle, as often as they encountered with the marquis, and such execution was then taken, as, in the heat and unruliness of those contentions, cannot be prevented,) there was never any foul act done by the English, or greater rigour used than was necessary to the work in hand; no retaliation of former outrages, but quarter given when desired; and all articles, consented to by the marquis or his officers, punctually observed and performed to the nation; and the war, in all considerations, prosecuted by the same rules, and with the same temper, as if it had been against an equal enemy, who could have justified the entering into it.

The gentle methods taken by his majesty.

And here it must be observed, that how cheap soever the marquis is now grown in the opinion of the bishop, as a soldier and a general in war; and how much soever the bishop is pleased to reproach his inactivity against the enemy, during the whole time that he alone ordered and conducted the war against the Roman catholics, on the behalf of his majesty; his unwearied vigilance and industry, in quick, painful, and sudden marches; his sharp and successful counsel in designs, and his undaunted courage in execution, was very grievous and formidable to them: how many of their towns, castles, and forts did he take from them with a handful of

The courage and conduct of the marquis of Ormond.

men? When did they appear before him in the field, though with numbers much superior to his, that they were not defeated, routed, and disbanded? Let them remember the battle at Kilrush, in April, 1642, when, being double the number of the marquis, they thought without difficulty to have cut off his army, which was then tired and harassed with long marches, and want of all kind of provisions; but, upon the encounter, the Irish were quickly subdued, slain, and put to flight, with the loss of their baggage and ammunition. Witness that famous battle near Rosse, when general Preston led an army of above six thousand foot and eight hundred horse against the marquis, who had not two thousand two hundred foot, nor five hundred horse; and where, by the advantage of the ground, and other accidents, the Irish horse had routed the English, and driven them from the field: at the sight whereof the small body of foot were even appalled and dismayed, when the marquis put himself in the head of his shaken and disheartened infantry, and, by his sole resolution and virtue, inflamed them with shame and courage, and led them against their proud and insulting enemy; and after a sharp encounter and slaughter of as many as had courage to make opposition, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the bogs and fastnesses, more terrified and confounded with his single name, than the power that assisted him.

The battle of Kilrush.

The battle of Rosse.

Whilst the marquis had officers and soldiers that would obey and follow him, he found no enemy could withstand him; without those, nor Hannibal, Scipio, nor Cæsar, ever obtained victory. When, by these continual successes, the wild distemper of

the Irish began to be abated; and they who had been carried along with the popular stream, without any power to resist the torrent, had now opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the consequence that must necessarily attend such transactions: they thought an humble address to him whom they had offended to be a more natural way to peace and happiness than the prosecution of the war, which had been attended with so much mischief, and accordingly professed a desire to be admitted to petition the king; in which they found such encouragement, that, upon that their first declaration, a commission was sent by his majesty to the marquis of Ormond and others, to receive any such petition; which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another commission under the great seal of Ireland was granted to treat with the Roman catholic Irish, in order to a cessation of arms; that so, upon the intermission of those acts of blood and outrage, and a more charitable communication of each other's grievances, the foundation for a happy peace might be temperately and maturely weighed and considered: and hereupon that cessation of arms was agreed upon for the space of one year, so much to the advantage and benefit of the Roman catholics.

The Irish petition for a treaty.

A cessation agreed to.

What scandals, reproaches, and real damages the marquis underwent by his being charitably inclined to that cessation, and desiring to prevent those calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the portion of that nation, if they did not speedily return to their allegiance and loyalty, wise men knew, who were acquainted with the humour and spirit of that time, and the universal prejudice the two kingdoms

of England and Scotland had contracted against the Roman catholics of Ireland, for the damage they had sustained, and the rapine and cruelty which had been perpetrated by the first authors of the rebellion, insomuch as a more ungracious and unpopular inclination could not be discovered in any man, than a wish or consent that that war (from which so many men promised themselves revenge and fortunes) should be any other way extinguished, than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they would pronounce to be guilty of the defection. And if the marquis hath not found a due retribution of thanks and acknowledgment from the whole nation, for giving them that opportunity to have made themselves happy, (so signally to his own disadvantage,) it must be imputed to the want of understanding, discretion, and gratitude, in which too many of that people have abounded.

Shortly after the cessation was made, the confederate catholics sent certain commissioners, authorized by them, to attend his majesty at Oxford, with such desires and propositions, as made too lively a representation how incompetent considerers they were of the way to their own repose and happiness; and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying calamities that hung over their heads, and so closely pursued them. And, at the same time, as long as that treaty lasted, the king was likewise attended by a committee sent by the council board of that kingdom, to inform his majesty of all matters of fact which had passed, and of the laws and customs there, which might be necessary to be well weighed, upon what the catholics should demand or propose: and by another committee, who were de-

puted by a parliament then sitting at Dublin, to solicit his majesty in behalf of his protestant subjects of that kingdom; and that nothing might be granted in that treaty to the prejudice of their interest and security.

The high demands of the Romanists.

The catholics, as men which thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and power of the kingdom, and the king's condition in England so weak, as he would buy their assistance at any rate, demanded upon the matter the total alteration of government both in church and state: the very form of making and enacting laws, which is the foundation of government, and which had been practised ever since the reign of Henry the Seventh, must be abolished, and, instead of liberty and toleration of the exercise of the Roman religion, they insisted upon such privileges, immunities, and power, as would have amounted at best but to a toleration of the protestant religion; and that no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other hand, the committee of parliament, as men who too much felt the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, and undervalued and contemned the catholic Irish, as inferior to them in courage and conduct, and as possessed of much greater power by the cessation than they could retain in a war, very earnestly pressed the execution of the present laws in force, reparation for the damages they had sustained, and disarming the Irish in such manner, and to such a degree, as it might not be hereafter in their power to do more mischief; and such other conditions, as people who are able to contend are not usually persuaded to submit unto. In these so different and distant applications, they who were

sent as moderate men from the council knew not how to behave themselves; but enough discovered, that they had not the confidence in the Irish, as to be willing they should be so far trusted, that the performance of their duty should depend only upon their affections and allegiance, but that there should be greater restraint on them than they were inclined to admit; otherwise, that the protestant religion and the English interest would be sooner rooted out by the peace they proposed, than it could be by a war.

It is very true, that the commissioners for the confederate catholics demeaned themselves to his majesty with a great show of modesty and duty, and confessed that they believed the demands they were enjoined to insist on were such as his majesty could not consent unto; and that the present condition of his affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those that sent them, before their coming out of Ireland, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident they should have had such instructions as would have better complied with their own desires and his majesty's occasions: and therefore frankly offered to return, and use their utmost endeavours to incline the confederate council, whose deputies they were, and who then exercised the supreme power over the confederate catholics of Ireland, to more moderation, and to return to their full submission and obedience to his majesty, upon such conditions as his goodness would consent unto for their security.

Hereupon the king sent his command to the marquis of Ormond, whom he had now made lord lieutenant of that kingdom, to renew and continue their The cessation continued.

cessation for another year; and likewise a commission under the great seal of England, to make a full peace with his catholic subjects, upon such conditions as he found agreeable to the public good and welfare, and as might produce such a peace and union in that kingdom, that it might assist his majesty for the vindication of his royal power, and suppressing the rebels in England and Scotland: and so his majesty dismissed the catholic commissioners with demonstration of much grace and confidence in them; and with this good counsel, which he most pathetically poured out to them at their departure, that they should remember, "that the "preservation of their nation, and the religion "which they professed, and were so zealous for in "Ireland, depended upon the preservation of his "just rights and authority in England. That they "saw his subjects in Scotland (contrary to all their "obligations) had invaded England, and joined with "the rebels against him, who without that assist-"ance would have been speedily reduced to their "obedience: and therefore, if his catholic subjects "of Ireland made haste, upon such conditions as he "might then grant, without prejudice to himself, "and which should be amply sufficient for the se-"curity of their fortunes, lives, and exercise of that "religion, to assist him, whereby he might be en-"abled, by God's blessing, to suppress that rebellion, "they might confidently believe he would never for-"get to whose merits he owed his preservation and "restoration; and that it would then be in his abso-"lute power to vouchsafe grace unto them to com-"plete their happiness, and which he gave them his "royal word he would then dispense in such man-

His majesty's good advice to the catholic commissioners.

" ner as should not leave them disappointed of any " of their just and full expectations: but if, by in- " sisting on such particulars as he could not in con- " science consent to, and their conscience obliged " them not to ask, or on such, as though he could " himself be content to yield to, yet in that con- " juncture of time would bring so great a damage " to him, that all the supplies they could give or " send could not countervail, and might as bene- " ficially be granted to them hereafter, when he " might better do it; if they should delay their " joining with him, and so look on till the rebels' " power prevailed against him in England and " Scotland, and suppressed his party in those king- " doms, it would then be too late for them to give " him help, and they would quickly find their " strength in Ireland but an imaginary support for " his or their own interest; and that they, who " with much difficulty had destroyed him, would, " without any considerable opposition, ruin their in- " terest, and root out their religion and their na- " tion from all the dominions which should be sub- " jected to their exorbitant jurisdiction." How much of this hath proved a prophecy, their sad experience knows, and the world cannot but take notice of.

When the commissioners returned into Ireland, most of them performed their promises and engagements to the king very faithfully; and by the informations they gave to the supreme council, and by their counsel, interest, and advice, they prevailed so far, that the nobility, gentry, and all men of considerable fortunes, with such of the secular and regular clergy, who were most eminent for piety and

the practice of religious duties, were convinced of the necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the king, upon such terms, for the present, as his majesty had graciously offered their commissioners, and upon the confidence of other graces when he might more seasonably vouchsafe them; and that no time should be lost in perfecting the pacification, and in proceeding most effectually towards their assisting the king in England: but the evil genius of that people quickly banished this blessed temper, and manifested to the world how unripe they were for that blessing. They who valued themselves upon their interest and dependences, and whose credit and reputation had corrupted multitudes to swerve from their public duty to their king, out of their private devotion and submission to them, found it now a more easy matter to pervert and mislead popular affections, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the spirits they had conjured up, than they could command the seas or the wind. The nobility, and men of known fortunes, had lost their power; and the most factious, ignorant, and violent part of the clergy had such an influence upon the common people, that they only obeyed their dictates, and with them only opposed all those conclusions, which, according to wisdom and true policy, were to be the ingredients of a happy and lasting peace: and so above two years were spent, after the commissioners departed from the king, in fruitless and ineffectual treaties, whilst the strength and power of the rebels in England exceedingly increased, and his majesty's forces were defeated; and himself, for want of the succour he expected, and which he was promised out of Ire-

The treaty ineffectual.

The ruin of his majesty and his kingdoms.

land, was compelled to deliver himself up to his Scottish subjects, and was shortly after by them delivered to the rebels of England, by whom he was in the end, with all those circumstances of horror and barbarity, murdered in the sight of the sun.

An assembly of the confederate catholics in the year 1645.

After all these unhappy and pernicious delays, the general assembly of the confederate catholics, which consisted of all the peers of that party, of all the bishops, and of the gentlemen and burgesses of corporation towns, (which was as lively a representation of the whole nation as they could make,) towards the end of the year 1645, appointed and authorized a select number of that body of persons of eminent quality and the most eminent abilities, and such as throughout all the troubles had been employed and intrusted by them in places and offices of the highest trust and concernment, to treat and conclude with the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant of that kingdom, a firm and full peace; whereupon all the particulars which might concern the interest and the security of either party being maturely weighed and considered, and then every article being first read, debated, and approved in the general assembly, without one dissenting voice, the whole was concluded, and the confederate catholics obliged to transport within a very short time an army of ten thousand men into England, for the service and relief of the king: and, all things thus stated and settled, the commissioners who had treated the peace were sent, by and in the name of the assembly, to Dublin, where the lord lieutenant resided, to sign the said articles, and to receive his lordship's confirmation of them: and accordingly the articles were there, in the beginning of the year 1646, inter-

Appoint commissioners for a new treaty.

Articles signed.

changeably signed and perfected, with all the formalities requisite; and shortly after were, with all solemnity and ceremony, published and proclaimed by the king at arms at Dublin and at Kilkenny, where the supreme council and the assembly of all the confederate catholics were held, and then printed by their authority; the archbishop of Firmo, then the pope's nuncio, with the catholics in Ireland, manifesting his approbation of all that had been done, by giving his blessing to the commissioners when they were sent to Dublin to conclude the treaty; and other ministers from foreign princes being present, consenting to, and witnessing the conclusion: so that the marquis, having performed all on his part that could be expected from him, or was in his power to do, and having received from the other party all the assurance he could require, there being no other way of engaging the public faith of the nation, than that to which they had so formally engaged themselves to him, intended nothing but how his majesty might speedily receive some fruit of that peace and accommodation, by sending some assistance to him; and to that purpose, with the advice, and upon the invitation of several persons who had great authority and power amongst the confederate catholics, he took a journey himself to Kilkenny, where he was received with that respect and reverence which was due to his person, and to the place he held, and with such expressions of triumph and joy, as gave him cause to believe the people were glad again to be received into his majesty's protection. But this sunshine of hope and union quickly vanished, and the old clouds of jealousy and sedition began again to cover the land. The pope's nuncio, and the titular

The marquis invited to Kilkenny.

bishops who depended on him, envied that nation the happiness and glory they foresaw it would be possessed of by the execution of that agreement; and so, without any colour of authority, either by the old established laws of that kingdom, or those new rules which they had prescribed to themselves since the rebellion, they convened a congregation of the clergy at Waterford, (a town most at their devotion,) where this titular bishop of Ferns was in the chair, and presided: and therefore it will not be amiss to take a short view of their proceedings, that the unhappy, oppressed, miserable people of Ireland may clearly discern to whom they owe those pressures and calamities they are now overwhelmed with; and whether that bishop is to be reckoned in the number of those who suffer at present for their zeal to religion, their allegiance to the king, and affection to their country; or whether his name is to be enrolled in the catalogue which must derive to posterity the authors and fomenters of so odious and causeless a rebellion, in which such a sea of blood hath been let out, and the betrayers of the honour and faith of the country and nation, and who are no less guilty of the extirpation of religion in that catholic kingdom, than Ireton or Cromwell, or that impious power under which they have perpetrated all their acts of blood, cruelty, and desolation.

Consequences of the treaty obstructed by the Irish clergy.

This congregation of the clergy were no sooner assembled, than (instead of prescribing acts of humiliation and repentance to the people, for the ills they had formerly done, and of inflaming their hearts with new zeal, and infusing a pious courage into them, to relieve and succour the king from those rebels that opposed him, according to their particular obligation

Proceedings of their assembly at Waterford.

by their late agreement, which had been the proper office of prelates and a Christian clergy) they began to inveigh against the peace, which themselves had so lately approved, and so formally consented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the advancement of religion; would not suffer it to be proclaimed at Waterford; and sent their emissaries and their orders to all the considerable towns and cities, to incense the people against it, and against those who wished it should take effect: insomuch that, when the king at arms was proclaiming the peace at Limerick, with that solemnity and ceremony as in such cases is used throughout the world, with his coat of arms, the ensign of his office upon him, and accompanied with the mayor [a] and aldermen, and the most substantial of the citizens in their robes, and with all the ensigns of magistracy and authority, one Maleife [b], a seditious friar, stirred up the multitude against them, which being led on by one Fanning, a person notorious for many outrages and acts of blood and inhumanity in the beginning of the rebellion, violently assaulted them; and, after many opprobrious speeches, in contempt of the peace and the authority of the king, and tearing off the coat from the herald, beat and wounded him and many of the magistrates of the city, and some of them almost to death. And, lest all this might be excused, and charitably interpreted to be the effect of a popular and tumultuous insurrection, the lawful mayor, and the other principal officers who assisted him in the discharge of his duty, were immediately dis-

Which occasioned popular tumults, particularly in Limerick.

Where the magistrates are displaced.

[a] *In the margin is written,* Boorke the mayor.
[b] *In the MS.* Wolfe.

placed, and Fanning, the infamous conductor of that rabble, made mayor in his place; who, by letters from the nuncio, was thanked for what he had done, encouraged to proceed in the same way, and had the apostolical benediction bestowed on him for committing such an outrage on the privileged person of an herald, who, in the name of the king, came to proclaim the peace, as by the law of nations must have been adjudged barbarous and unpardonable, in any part of the world where civility is planted, if he had come to have denounced war: and yet all this while the design itself was carried on with so great secrecy, that the lord lieutenant (proceeding in his progress for the settling and composing the humours of the people, which he understood to have been in some disorder by the infusions of the ill affected clergy) never heard of any force of arms to second and support these mutinous disorders, till, being near the city of Cashel, he was advertised, by a letter from the mayor, that Owen O'Neal's army was marching that way, and had sent terrible threats to that city, if it presumed to receive the lord lieutenant: and shortly after he found, that Owen O'Neal used all possible expedition to get between him and Dublin, that so he might have been able to have surprised and destroyed him. Whereupon the marquis found it necessary to lose no time in returning thither; yet resolved not only to contain himself from any act of hostility, but even from those trespasses which are hardly avoided upon marches; and so paid punctually for whatsoever was taken from the inhabitants throughout all the catholic quarters, presuming that those persons of honour, who had transacted the treaty, would have been able to have

These disorders supported by an army under Owen O'Neal.

Who endeavours to surprise the marquis.

caused that peace to be observed in despite of these clamorous undertakers.

The assembly at Waterford declares the peace void.

When the unchristian congregation at Waterford had made this essay of their power and jurisdiction, they made all possible haste to propagate their authority, and declared the peace to be void, and inhibited all persons to submit thereto, or to pay any taxes, impositions, or contributions, which had been settled by the said agreement; and without which neither a standing army (which was to be applied to the reduction of those towns and provinces which had put themselves under the protection of the rebels of England, and neither submitted to the former cessation, nor would be comprehended in the peace) could be supported, nor the ten thousand men could be raised to be transported into England for the succour of the king, as had been so religiously undertaken. Which injunction of theirs the people too readily obeyed and submitted unto.

The nuncio assumes the supreme power.

Then they committed and delegated the entire and absolute power of governing and commanding, as well in secular as ecclesiastical matters, to the pope's nuncio, who began his empire with committing to prison the commissioners who had been instrumental in the treaty, and making of the peace by order of the general assembly, and issued out an excommunication against all those who had or should

His exercise of it.

submit to the peace, which comprehended all the nobility, and almost all the gentry of the nation, and very many of the most learned and pious clergy, as well regular as secular: which excommunication wrought so universally upon the minds of the people, that albeit many persons of honour and quality received infinite scandal, and well foresaw the

irreparable damage their religion itself would undergo by that unwarrantable proceeding, and used their utmost endeavours to draw the people to obedience and submission to the said agreement; and to that purpose prevailed so far with general Preston, that he gave them reason to hope, that he would join with them for the vindication of the public faith and honour of the nation, and compel those that opposed it to submit to the peace: yet all these endeavours produced no effect, but concluded in unprofitable resentments and lamentations.

Owen O'Neal enters the queen's county.

In the mean time, Owen O'Neal (when he found himself disappointed of his design to cut off the lord lieutenant before he should reach Dublin) entered into the queen's county with all his army, and committed all the acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; took many castles and forts that belonged to the king, and put all who resisted to the sword; and his officers, in cold blood, caused others to be murdered, to whom they had promised quarter, as major Piggott, and others of his family; and shortly after the nuncio prevailed so much, that he united general Preston to his army, and likewise to his purpose, and then himself, as generalissimo, led both armies towards Dublin; where the lord lieutenant was so surprised by their perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less straits and distresses from his friends within, than from his enemies without, who totally neglected those forces, which, being under the obedience of the English rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody war with them, and at present made inroads into their quarters, to their great damage, and entirely engaged them-

selves totally to suppress the king's authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

Lest so prodigious an alteration as is here set forth may seem to be wrapped up in too short a discourse, and it may appear almost incredible, that an agreement so deliberately and solemnly entered into by the whole nobility and gentry of a nation, in a matter that so entirely concerned their own interest, should in such an instant be blasted and annihilated by a congregation of the clergy, assembled only by their own authority, and therefore without the vice of curiosity, all men may desire to be informed by what degrees and methods that congregation proceeded, and what specious pretences and insinuations they used towards the people for the better persuading them to depart from that peace and tranquillity they were again restored to the possession of; it will be the less impertinent to set down some important particulars of their proceedings, and the very forms of some instruments published by them, that the world may see the logic and rhetoric that was used to impose upon and delude that unhappy undiscerning people, and to entangle them in that labyrinth of confusion, in which they are still involved.

Strange decree of the Irish clergy.

They were not content not to suffer the peace to be proclaimed in Waterford, and to dissuade the people from submitting to it; but by a decree, dated the 12th of August, 1646, which they commanded to be published in all places in the English and Irish tongue, they declared, by the unanimous consent and votes of all, none contradicting, (as they said,) that all and singular the confederate catholics, who should adhere or consent to that peace or to

the fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be held absolutely perjured; especially for this cause, that in those articles there is no mention made of the catholic religion, or the security thereof, nor any care taken for the conservation of the privileges of the country, as had been promised in an oath formerly taken by them, but rather all things were referred to the pleasure of the most renowned king, from whom, in his present state, they said, nothing of certainty could be had; and in the interim, the armies, arms, and forts, and even the supreme council of the confederate catholics, are subjected to the authority and rule of the council of state and protestant officers of his majesty, from whom that they might be made secure, they had taken that oath; and the next day, being informed that the lord viscount Mountgarrett, and the lord viscount Muskerry, were appointed by the supreme council at Kilkenny to go to Dublin to confer with the lord lieutenant upon the best way to be pursued for the execution and observation of the peace, they made an order in writing, in which were these words.

"We insisting on, and prosecuting the decree "made yesterday, whereby all confederates, em- "bracing and adhering to the former peace, are de- "clared perjurers: By these presents, we admonish "in our Lord, and require the persons who are de- "puted for Dublin, that they forbear and abstain "from going thither for the said end; or if they be "gone, that they return; and this under pain of "excommunication; commanding the right honour- "able the bishop of Ossory, and other bishops, as "well assembled as not assembled here, and their "vicars general, as also vicars apostolical, and all

" priests, even regulars, that they intimate these pre-
" sents, or cause them to be intimated, even by
" affixing them in public places, and that they pro-
" ceed against the disobedient, in denouncing of ex-
" communication, as it shall prove expedient in our
" Lord."

When the supreme council (notwithstanding these new orders and injunctions) continued still their desire to observe the peace, the titular bishop of Ossory published this extraordinary writing. " Where-
" as we have, in public and private meetings, at seve-
" ral times declared to the supreme council, and
" others whom it may concern, that it was and is
" unlawful, against conscience, and implying per-
" jury (as it hath been defined by the special act of
" the convocation now at Waterford) to both com-
" monwealths, spiritual and temporal, to do or con-
" cur to any act tending to the approbation or coun-
" tenancing the publication of this unlawful and
" mischievous peace, so dangerous (as it is now ar-
" ticled) to both commonwealths, spiritual and tem-
" poral: and whereas, notwithstanding our declara-
" tion (yea, the declaration of the clergy of the
" kingdom) to the contrary, the supreme council
" and the commissioners have actually proceeded to
" the publication, yea, and forcing it upon the city
" by terror and threats, rather than by any free
" consent or desire of the people: we having duly
" considered and taken it to heart, as becometh;
" how enormous this fact is, and appears in catho-
" lics, even against God himself, and what a public
" contempt of the holy church it appears, besides
" the evil it is like to draw upon this poor king-
" dom; after a mature deliberation and consent of

Strange writing of the titular bishop of Ossory.

" our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scan-
" dalous disobedience of the supreme council, and
" others who adhered to them in matter of con-
" science to the holy church, and in hatred of so
" sinful and abominable an act, we do by these pre-
" sents, according to the prescription of sacred ca-
" nons, pronounce and command, henceforth, a gene-
" ral cessation of divine offices throughout all the
" city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, mo-
" nasteries, and houses whatsoever.

" Given at our palace of Nova Curia, Aug. 18, 1646.
Signed, *David Ossoriensis.*"

This extravagant proceeding did not yet terrify those of the confederate catholics, who understood how necessary the observation of the peace was for the preservation of the nation: but as they desired the lord lieutenant to forbear all acts of hostility, upon how unreasonable a provocation soever; so they sent two persons of the supreme council (sir Lucas Dillon, and Dr. Fennell) to the congregation at Waterford, to dispose them to a better temper, and to find out some expedient which might compose the minds of the people, and prevent those calamities that would unavoidably fall upon the nation, upon their declining or renouncing the peace: but after they had attended several days, and offered many reasons and considerations to them, the congregation put a period to all the hopes and consultations of that nature, by issuing out a decree of excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this form, and these words, with the marginal notes; *by John Baptist Ranucini, archbishop and*

The laity more moderate.

But disappointed by

*primate of Fermo, and by the ecclesiastical congregation of both clergies of the kingdom of Ireland.*

The assembly's decree of excommunication.

*A decree of excommunication against such as adhere to the late peace, and do bear arms for the heretics of Ireland, and do aid or assist them.*

" Not without cause (saith the Oracle of Truth) " doth the minister of God carry the sword, for he " is to punish him that doth evil, and remunerate " him that doth good: hence it is, that we have, by " our former decree, declared to the world our sense " and just indignation against the late peace, con- " cluded and published at Dublin; not only in its " nature bringing prejudice and destruction of reli- " gion and kingdom, but also contrary to the oath " of association, and withal against the contrivers of, " and adherers to, the said peace; in pursuance of " which decrees, being forced to unsheath the spi- " ritual sword, we (to whom God hath given power " to bind and loose on earth) assembled together in Matth. xvi. 18, 19. John xx. 23. " the Holy Ghost, tracing herein, and imitating the " examples of many venerable and holy prelates, " who have gone before us; and taking for our au- " thority the sacred canons of holy church, grounded " on holy writ, *ut tollantur e medio nostrum qui hoc " opus faciunt, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu*; de- 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. " liver over such persons to Satan, (that is to say,) " excommunicate, execrate, and anathematize all " such, as after the publication of this our decree " and notice, either privately or publicly given them " thereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve of the " justice of the said peace; and chiefly those who

" bear arms, or make, or join in war, for, or in be-
" half of the puritans or other heretics at Dublin,
" Cork, Youghall, or of other places in this king-
" dom; or shall, either by themselves, or by their
" appointment, bring, send, or give any aid, succour,
" or relief, victuals, ammunition, or other provision
" to them; or by advice, or otherways, advance the
" said peace, or the war made against us; those and
" every of them, by this present decree, we do de-
" clare and pronounce excommunicated *ipso facto*,
" *ut non circumveniamini a Satana, non enim ig-*
" *noramus cogitationes ejus.* Dated at Kilkenny
" in our palace of residence 15 October, 1646.
" Signed *Johannes Baptista archiepiscopus Fer-*
" *manus, nuncius apostolicus de mandato illustris-*
" *simi Domini nuncii et congregationis ecclesias-*
" *ticæ utriusque cleri regni Hiberniæ, Nicholas*
" *Fernensis congregationis cancellarius.*"

The nuncio marches two armies to Dublin.

And having thus fortified himself, the nuncio, as generalissimo, made all preparations to march with two armies towards Dublin, which consisting of near sixteen thousand foot, and as many hundred horse, he believed, or seemed to believe, would take the town by assault, as soon as he should appear before it; and in this confidence, (that we may not interrupt the series of this discourse, by any intervening actions,) when the armies were within a day's march of the city, the two generals sent this letter, with the propositions annexed, to the lord lieutenant.

"*May it please your excellency,*

" By the command of the confederate catholics of
" this kingdom, who offer the enclosed proposi-

" tions, we have under our leading two armies; our " thoughts are bent to our religion, king, and coun- " try; our ends to establish the first, and to make " the two last secure and happy; it is the greatest " of our care and desire to persuade your excellency " to the effecting so blessed a work: we do not de- " sire effusion of blood, and to that purpose the en- " closed propositions are sent from us. We pray " God, your consideration of them may prove fruit- " ful. We are commanded to pray your excellency " to render an answer to them by two of the clock " in the afternoon on Thursday next: be it war or " peace, we shall endeavour in our ways to exercise " faith and honour; and upon this thought, we rest " your excellency's most humble servants,

*From the camp,* " JOHN PRESTON.
2 *March* 1646. " OWEN O'NEAL."

Haughty propositions to the lord lieutenant.

I. That the exercise of the Romish religion be in Dublin, Drogheda, and in all the kingdom of Ireland, as free and public as it is now in Paris in France, or Bruxelles in the Low Countries.

II. That the council of state, called ordinarily the council-table, be of members true and faithful to his majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion of going to the parliament party.

III. That Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford, and all garrisons within the protestant quarters, be garrisoned by confederate catholics, to maintain and keep the said city and places for the use of our sovereign lord king Charles, and his lawful successors, for the defence of this kingdom of Ireland.

IV. That the present council of the confederates

shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the use of his majesty and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said kingdom of Ireland, the above city of Dublin, Drogheda, and all other forts, places, and castles as above.

V. That the council and all general officers and soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by sea and land against the parliamentaries and all the king's enemies; and that they will never come to any convention or article with the said parliamentaries, or any the king's enemies, to the prejudice of his majesty's rights, or of this kingdom of Ireland.

VI. That, according to our oath of association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the king's right, the lives and fortunes of his subjects. *His excellence is prayed to make answer to the above propositions at furthest by two of the clock in the afternoon, upon Thursday next.*

JOHN PRESTON.
OWEN O'NEAL.

The difficulties the marquis lay under.

Let all dispassionate men now consider what could the marquis do; his quarters were so straight and narrow, that they could yield no support to the few field forces he had yet left, all his garrisons besieged without an enemy, being destitute of all provisions within, and blocked up at sea by the rebels' ships, which kept all manner of trade and supplies from them that way. All the army he had for the field and garrisons amounted not to five thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, without clothes, money, or fixed arms, and with so inconsiderable a store of

ammunition, that when the nuncio was upon his march, with both the Irish generals, and their united powers, towards Dublin, he had not in that most important city, the metropolis of the kingdom, more than fourteen barrels of powder; not only the inhabitants, but the soldiers themselves grew impatient of the distresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall on them; and they who had before presumed in corners and whispers to tax the marquis, of not being zealous enough for the English interest, and too credulous of what was promised and undertaken by the Irish, had the boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combined with the Irish to put all into their hands. They who from the beginning of the troubles had been firm and unshaken in their duty and loyalty to the king, and cheerfully suffered great losses, and had undergone great hazards for being so, and had been of the most constant affection to, and confidence in, the marquis, and resolved to obey him in whatsoever he should ordain for the king's service, for the conducting whereof he was solely and entirely trusted by his majesty, could not yet endure to think of being put into, or falling under the power of the Irish, who, by this new breach of faith, had made themselves utterly incapable of any future trust: for what security could they possibly give upon any future treaty for the performance of any contract, which they had not lately given, for the observation of that which so infamously they had receded from? So that as there wanted not some within the city, and of the soldiers, who undertook to surprise the castle, and seize upon the person of the lord lieutenant, and to deliver both

to the English rebels; and had so near executed that design, that they had in the morning surprised the guard, and were possessed of the principal port in the castle: so the rest did so much prefer the subjection to the English rebels, (who then pretended a resolution to return to their obedience to the king, and were upon treaties to that end,) before their submitting to the Irish, that the marquis had not power enough to proceed upon that conspiracy with the severity that was necessary, lest too many might be found to be involved in that guilt, and some of too much interest and credit to be brought to justice; hereupon he found it absolutely necessary to make show of inclining to the English, and sent to the ships then riding in the bay of Dublin, that they would transport some commissioners from him to the parliament to treat about the surrender of the city, and the other garrisons under his command; which proposition was most greedily embraced by them, and the persons deputed accordingly conveyed to England. By this means the marquis was forthwith supplied with a considerable portion of powder, which the captains of those ships delivered to him, and without which he could have made no defence against the nuncio; and hereby the Irish had a fair warning to bethink themselves in time of returning to their duty; since they might discern, that, if they would not suffer Dublin to continue in the king's obedience, it should be delivered to them, who would deal less graciously with them, and had power enough to punish those indignities which had been offered; and the marquis was still without other engagements, than to

The lord lieutenant obliged to treat with the parliament.

do what he should judge most conducing to his majesty's service.

Which more inclines the Irish to peace.

This last consideration made such impression upon them, that when they saw the ships return from England with supplies of soldiers, money, and great store of provision, and commissioners to treat with the marquis for putting all into their hands, the Irish seemed less united among themselves, and more desirous to make conditions with the lord lieutenant: and general Preston with his officers frankly entered into a treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard, whom the lord lieutenant authorized to that end; and with deep and solemn oaths undertook and promised to stand to the peace, and from that time forward to be obedient to his majesty's authority, and to join with the marquis of Ormond against all those who should refuse to submit to them. On the other side, the commissioners from the two houses of parliament, who were admitted into Dublin to treat with the lord lieutenant, observing the very ill condition the town was in, besieged by two strong armies, by whom they within every hour expected to be assaulted, concluded, that the want of food, and all necessaries for defence, would compel the marquis, with the importuning and clamour of the inhabitants and soldiers, to receive supply of men, money, and victuals (which they had brought) on any terms; and therefore insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant demands, and refused to consent that the marquis should send any messenger to the king, to the end that, upon information how the cause stood, he might receive his majesty's directions what to do,

But heightens the parliament commissioners.

and without which he was always resolved not to proceed to any conjunction with them; and so had privately despatched several expresses to the king, (as soon as he discerned clearly that the Irish were so terrified by the nuncio and his excommunication, that there was little hope of good from them,) with a full information of the state of affairs, and expected every day the return of some of the said messengers, with the signification of his majesty's pleasure. All things being in this posture, the commissioners from the two houses returned again to their ships, and carried back all the supplies they had brought to the parliament garrisons in the province of Ulster, being so much the more incensed against the lord lieutenant for declining an entire union with them, and inclining (as they said he did) to a new confidence in the Irish.

The marquis of Clanrickard had an entire trust from the lord lieutenant, as a person superior to all temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his affection and integrity to the king; and his zeal to the Roman catholic religion, in which he had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adhered, was as unquestionable. He had taken very great pains to render that peace, which had been so long in consultation, effectual to the nation; and had very frankly, both by discourse and writing, endeavoured to dissuade the nuncio from prosecuting those rough ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the nation, and dishonour the catholic religion. He found general Preston and the officers of his army less transported with passion and a blind submission to the authority of the nuncio, than the other; and that they professed

great duty and obedience to the king, and that they seemed to have been wrought upon by two conclusions, which had been infused into them: the one was, that the lord lieutenant was so great an enemy to their religion, that, though they should obtain any concessions from the king, (to their advantage in that particular,) he would oppose and not consent unto the same: the other was, that the king was now in the hands of the Scots, who were not like to approve of the peace which had been made, (all that nation in Ulster refusing to submit unto it;) and that, if they should be able to procure any order from his majesty to disavow it, the lord lieutenant would undoubtedly obey any such order. These specious infusions the marquis of Clanrickard endeavoured to remove, and undertook, upon his honour, to use all the power and interest he had with the king, queen, and prince, on the behalf of the Roman catholics, and to procure them such liberties and privileges, for the free exercise of their religion, as they could reasonably expect; and undertook that the lord lieutenant would acquiesce with such directions as he should receive therein, without contradiction, or endeavours to do ill offices to the catholics. He further promised, that if any orders should be procured from the king, during the restraint he was then under, to the disadvantage of the confederate catholics, he would suspend any obedience thereunto, until such time as his majesty should be at liberty, and might receive full information on their behalf. And upon the marquis of Clanrickard's positive undertaking those particulars, and the lord lieutenant having ratified and confirmed all that the marquis had engaged himself for,

Jealousies of the Irish.

Removed by the marquis of Clanrickard.

general Preston, together with all the principal officers under his command, signed this ensuing engagement.

The Irish general Preston and his officers enter into an engagement.

" We the general, nobility, and officers of the " confederate catholic forces, do solemnly bind and " engage ourselves, by honour and reputation of " gentlemen and soldiers, and by the sacred pro- " testation upon the faith of catholics in the pre- " sence of Almighty God, both for ourselves, and (as " much as in us lies) for all persons that are or shall " be under our command, that we will, from the " date hereof, forward, submit, and conform ourselves " entirely and sincerely to the peace concluded and " proclaimed by his majesty's lieutenant, with such " additional concessions and securities, as the right " honourable Ulick L (to be removed) marquis of " Clanrickard, hath undertaken to procure and se- " cure to us, in such manner, and upon such terms " as is expressed in his lordship's undertaking and " protestation of the same date, hereunto annexed, " and signed by himself: and we, upon his lord- " ship's undertaking, engage ourselves, by the bond " of honour and conscience abovesaid, to yield en- " tire obedience to his majesty, and to his lieute- " nant general, and general governor of this king- " dom, and to any deriving authority from them by " commission, to command us in our several de- " grees; and, according to such orders as we shall " receive from them, faithfully to serve his majesty " against all his enemies or rebels, as well within " this kingdom, as in any other part of his domini- " ons, and against all persons that shall not join " with us upon these terms, in submission to the " peace of this kingdom, and to his majesty's au-

" thority. And we do further engage ourselves, un-
" der the said solemn bonds, that we will never,
" directly nor indirectly, make use of any advantage
" or power, wherewith we shall be intrusted, to the
" obliging of his majesty or his ministers, by any
" kind of force, to grant unto us any thing beyond
" the said marquis of Clanrickard's undertaking,
" but shall wholly rely upon his majesty's own free
" goodness, for what further graces and favours he
" shall graciously please to confer upon his faithful
" catholic subjects, according to their obedience and
" merit in his service. And we do further protest,
" that we shall never think ourselves disobliged
" from this engagement, by any authority or power
" whatsoever, provided, on both parties, that this
" engagement and undertaking be not understood,
" or extend to debar and hinder his majesty's ca-
" tholic subjects of this kingdom from the benefit of
" any further grace or favour, which his majesty
" may be graciously pleased to concede to them
" upon the queen's mediation, or any other treaty
" abroad."

This was done about the end of November, 1646; the nuncio, with the other army under Owen O'Neal, having been about the same time compelled to raise the siege, and to retire for want of provision: whereupon the marquis of Clanrickard was made (by the lord lieutenant) lieutenant general of the army, and was accordingly received as such by general Preston, his army being drawn in battalia; and general Preston received, at the same time, a commission from the lord lieutenant to command as sergeant major general, and immediately under the marquis of Clanrickard: and shortly after, general

The marquis of Clanrickard made general of the army.

Preston desired the lord lieutenant to march, with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons, towards Kilkenny, where he promised to meet him with his army; that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the peace.

When the marquis was come within less than a day's march of the place assigned by general Preston for the meeting and joining their forces together, the marquis of Clanrickard, who attended upon the lord lieutenant, received a letter from Preston to this effect.

Defection of Preston's officers.

"That his officers, not being excommunication "proof, were fallen from him to the nuncio's party, "and therefore he wished the lord lieutenant would "proceed no further, but expect the issue of a gene- "ral assembly that would be shortly convened at "Kilkenny, where, he doubted not, but things would "be set right by the consent of the whole kingdom; "which, he said, would be much better for his ma- "jesty's service, than to attempt the forcing a peace "upon those who were averse to it."

Upon this new violation of faith, the marquis was compelled, after some weeks' stay in the enemy's quarters, to return again to Dublin; where the commissioners, who had been lately there from the two houses of parliament, had sowed such seeds of jealousy and discontent, and the treacherous and perfidious carriage of the Irish had awakened them to such terrible apprehensions, that the inhabitants refused to contribute further to the payment and support of the army; and, in truth, were so far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverished by their total want and decay of traffic and commerce, that they were not able much longer to con-

The marquis reduced to great hardships.

tribute: so that the marquis was forced, in the cold and wet winter, to draw out his half starved and half naked troops, only to live in the enemy's quarters; where yet he would suffer no acts of hostility to be committed, nor any thing else to be taken but victuals for the subsistence of his men: and in this uneasy posture he resolved to expect the result of the next general assembly, which he supposed could not be so constituted, but that it would abhor the violation of their former contracts and agreements, and the inexcusable presumption and proceedings of the congregation of the clergy at Waterford; and that it would vindicate the honour and faith of the nation from the reproaches it lay under, and from the exorbitant and extravagant jurisdiction and power which the nuncio had assumed a power to himself to exercise over the kingdom: but he quickly found himself again disappointed; and (to the universal wonder of all) the new assembly published a declaration of a very new nature. For, whereas the nuncio and his council had committed to prison those noblemen and gentlemen who had been commissioners in treating and concluding the peace, and had given out threats and menaces, that they should lose their heads for their transgressions, the assembly presently set them at liberty, and declared, "that the commissioners and council "had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned "themselves in the said negociation, pursuant and "according to the trust reposed in them;" and yet, in the very same declaration, declared, "that they "might not accept of, nor submit to, the said peace; "and did thereby protest against it, and did declare "the same invalid, and of no force, to all intents and

Strange proceedings of the general assembly.

" purposes;" and did further declare, " that the na-
" tion would not accept of any peace not contain-
" ing a sufficient and satisfactory security for the
" religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the said
" confederate catholics:" and what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, &c. appeared by the propositions published before by the congregation at Waterford, which they had caused the people to swear, that they would insist upon; and which, instead of providing a toleration of the Roman catholic religion, had, in truth, provided for the extirpation of the protestants, when they should think fit to put the same in execution. Nor was the only argument and excuse which they published for these proceedings more reasonable than the proceedings themselves, which was, " that the concessions and promises
" made unto them by the earl of Glamorgan were
" much larger, and greater security for their reli-
" gion, than those consented to by the marquis:" whereas, in truth, those concessions and promises, made by the earl, were discovered and disavowed by the lord lieutenant before the conclusion of the peace, and the earl committed to prison for his presumption; which, though it produced some interruption in the treaty, yet was the same afterwards resumed, and the peace concluded and proclaimed upon the articles formerly mentioned: so that the allegation of what had been undertaken by the earl of Glamorgan can be no excuse for the violating the agreement afterwards concluded with the marquis.

This last wonderful act put a period to all hopes of the marquis, which his charity and compassion to the kingdom and nation, and his discerning spirit, The n cause dered porate

what inevitable ruin and destruction both must undergo from that distemper of mind which possessed them, had so long kept up even against his experience and judgment; and they, whose natures, dispositions, and interests made them most averse from the rebels of England, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the power of the Irish: so that all persons, of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had dislikes and jealousies enough towards each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions against the confederates. The council of state besought the lord lieutenant "to consider whether it were possible to have any better security from them for the "performance of any other agreement he should "make, than he had for the performance of that "which they now receded from and disclaimed; "and since the spring was then coming on, where-"by the number, power, and strength of their ene-"mies would be increased on all sides, and their "hopes of succours or relief for themselves was des-"perate: and so it would be only in his election, "into whose power he would put those, who had de-"served as well from his majesty, by doing and suf-"fering, as subjects could do, into the hands of the "English, who could not deny them protection and "justice; or of the Irish, who had not only despoiled "them of all their fortunes, and prosecuted them "with all animosity and cruelty, but declared by "their carriage, that they were not capable of se-"curity under them: they therefore entreated him "to send again to the two houses of parliament, "and make some agreement with them, which "would probably be for their preservation; whereas

Reasons for putting Dublin into the hands of the English rather than of the Irish.

" with the other, whatever could be done was evi-
" dent for their destruction."

That which, among other things of importance, made a deep impression on the marquis, was the knowledge, that there had been, from the beginning of these troubles, a design in the principal contrivers of them entirely to alienate the kingdom of Ireland from the crown of England; to extirpate not only the protestants, but all the catholics who were descended from the English, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old Irish than the other; and to put themselves into the protection of some foreign prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some one of the old families: and how wild and extravagant soever this attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard that not only all the catholics of the English extraction, (who were in quality and fortune much superior to the other,) but many noble and much the best and greatest families of the ancient Irish, perfectly abhorred and abominated the same; yet it was apparent, that the violent part of the clergy that now governed had really that intention, and never intended more to submit to the king's authority, whosoever should be intrusted with it; and it had been proposed in the last assembly, by Mr. Anthony Martin and others, that they should call in some foreign prince for their protection; and the exorbitant power assumed by the nuncio was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the king, and gave no less umbrage, offence, and scandal to the catholics of honour and discretion, than it incensed those who bore no kind of reverence to the bishop of Rome.

Upon this consideration, the marquis believed it

much more prudent and agreeable to the trust reposed in him, to deposit the king's interest and the rights of the crown in the hands of the lords and commons of England, who still made great professions of duty and subjection to his majesty, and from whom (how rebellious soever their present actions were) it might probably revert to the crown, by treaty or otherwise, in a short time, than to trust it with the Irish, from whom less than a very chargeable war would never recover it; in what state soever the affairs of England should be; and how lasting, bloody, and costly that war might prove, by the intermeddling and pretences of foreign princes, was not hard to conclude.

While the marquis was in this consultation and deliberation, he received information that the king was delivered by the Scots to the commissioners of the two houses of parliament, who were then treating with him for the settling a peace in all his dominions; and at the same time a person of quality arrived at Dublin, having been privately despatched by his majesty with the signification of his majesty's pleasure, upon the advertisements he had received of the condition of Ireland, to this purpose; "that "if it were possible, for the marquis to keep Dublin "and the other garrisons under the same entire "obedience to his majesty they were then in, it "would be most acceptable to his majesty; but if "there were, or should be, a necessity of giving "them up to any other power, he should rather put "them into the hands of the English, than of the "Irish:" which was the rule the marquis was to guide himself by; who had likewise another very important consideration, which (if all the rest had

His majesty's instructions to the marquis.

been away) had been enough to have inclined him to that resolution.

The king was now in the hands and power of those who had raised the war against him, principally upon the credit of those reproaches and scandals they had persuaded the people to believe of his inclining to popery, and of his contriving, or at least countenancing the rebellion in Ireland, in which so much protestant blood had been so wantonly and cruelly let out. The cessation formerly made and continued with those rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into and observed, had been the most unpopular act the king had ever done, and had wonderfully contributed to the reputation of the two houses of parliament: if, according to the general opinion then current, there should a peace ensue between the king and them, as most men conceived (the king's forces being totally suppressed) there must be, though by his condescending to many grants, which they ought not in duty to have demanded, (for few men suspected such prodigious wickedness to be in their purposes, as was after executed,) his majesty would lose nothing by the parliament's being possessed of Dublin, and those other towns then in the disposal of the lord lieutenant: on the contrary, if they indeed intended to pursue his majesty with continued and new reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his subjects, that they might with the more facility and applause execute their horrible conspiracy against his life; there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his majesty, as the surrender of Dublin to the Irish confederates, which, being done by the king's lieutenant, who was known so punctually devoted

to his obedience, would be easily interpreted to be by his majesty's directions, and so make a confirmation of all they had published of that kind; and, among the ignorant seduced people, might have been a countenance to (though nothing could be a justification of) their unparalleled wickedness.

The marquis proposes to deliver Dublin to the English rebels.

Hereupon the marquis took a resolution, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the hands of the English; and to that purpose sent again to the two houses of parliament at Westminster; that he would surrender Dublin and the other garrisons under his power to them, upon the same conditions they had before offered: and they quickly despatched their ships with commissioners, men, and money, and all other provisions necessary to take the same into their possession. The confederate catholics were no sooner informed of this, but they sent again to the lord lieutenant an overture of accommodation, (as they called it;) yet the messengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest, by accepting indeed what they proposed, they might be obliged to a conjunction, that they refused to give their propositions in writing; and when, upon their discourse, the lord lieutenant had written what they had proposed, and shewed it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refused to sign it: whereby it was very natural to conclude that the overture was made by them only to lay some imputation upon the marquis, of not being necessitated to agree with the two houses of parliament, rather than with any purpose of submitting to the king's authority. At last, being so far pressed, that they found it necessary to let the marquis know in plain terms what he was to trust to,

Which alarms the Irish confederates.

they sent him a message in writing, in which they declared, "that they must insist upon the propositions of the clergy, formerly mentioned to be agreed at Waterford, and to which they had sworn; and that if he would have a cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any force from the two houses of parliament in six or seven months;" not proposing any way in the mean time, how his majesty's army should be maintained, but by a total submission to all their unreasonable demands. Their overture to him.

Notwithstanding all which, the parliament failing to make that speedy performance of what they had promised, and the marquis having it thereby in his power fairly to comply with the Irish, if they had yet recovered the temper and discretion that might justify him; he sent again to them, as well an answer to their overture of accommodation, as an offer not to receive any forces from the two houses for the space of three weeks, if they would, during that time, consent to a cessation, that a full peace might be treated and agreed upon: to which motion they never vouchsafed to return any answer. About the same time, Owen O'Neal, wisely discerning that the nuncio, or the supreme council, did not enough consider or foresee the evil consequences that would naturally attend the lord lieutenant's being compelled to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garrisons into the possession of the English rebels, sent his nephew, Daniel O'Neal, to the marquis, and offered him, "that if the marquis would accept of a cessation for two months, which he believed the assembly or supreme council would propose, (with what mind soever,) he would pro- Message from O'Neal to the marquis.

" mise and undertake to continue it for twelve " months, and in that time he would use his utmost " power to procure a peace."

His character.

Owen O'Neal was a man of a haughty and positive humour, and rather hard to be inclined to submit to reasonable conditions, than easy to decline them, or break his word when he had consented. Therefore the lord lieutenant presently returned in answer, that if he would give him his word to continue the cessation for a full year, he would accept it, when proposed by the supreme council for two months, and he would in the mean time wave any further treaty with the parliament. But he sent him word, he would not bind himself to this promise longer than for fourteen days, if he did not in that time receive such a positive effect of his overture as he expected. Owen O'Neal accepted the conditions, and with all possible haste despatched his nephew, Daniel O'Neal, to the supreme council at Clonmell, with a letter containing his advice, and another to the bishop of Clogher, (his chief confident,) to whom he sent the reasons at large, which ought to induce the nation to desire such a cessation. But when the council received the letter, and knew that the lord lieutenant expected an answer within fourteen days, they resolved to return none till the fourteen days should be expired; and in the mean time committed Daniel O'Neal to prison, that he might not return to his uncle; and when the time was past, they released him, on condition he should return no more into his quarters: so that in the end, the commissioners from the two houses having performed all on their parts that was to be performed, the marquis delivered up Dublin and the

He writes to the supreme council for a cessation.

His advice how received.

other garrisons into their hands, and was transported, with his family, into England; where they admitted him to wait upon the king, and to give his majesty an account of his transactions; who received him most graciously, as a servant who had highly merited of him, and fully approved of all that he had done.

The marquis constrained to deliver up Dublin, &c. to the English rebels, and leave Ireland.

Since then, upon the most strict and impartial examination of those proceedings, malice itself cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the marquis, of want of that fidelity or discretion which was requisite to preserve his master's interest, or of any absence of singular affection and compassion towards a people, who have the honour to be of the same nation with him; they endeavoured to get it believed, by dark and obscure expressions, that in the articles he made before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his own particular benefit and advantage; and objected to him, that he contracted to have thirteen thousand pounds paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same was paid by them, and received by him accordingly: and so they would persuade the world, that a person who frankly exposed the greatest fortune and estate that any subject had to lose in either of the three kingdoms, and who, while he was possessed of any part of it, made all worthy men, in want, joint owners of it with him, could betray a trust for a vile sum of money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous bargain in public, and insert it into the articles which were to be viewed and perused by all men; whereas it might have been as easy to have driven that traffic with such secrecy, that it could never have been discovered, if he had meant it should be secret. And

False aspersions on him.

therefore, how impertinent soever this discourse may appear to those who (knowing the impossibility of the scandal) think any thing like a vindication to give too much honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole matter, that the malice and indiscretion of the calumniators may be more evident, which was as follows.

Vindication of the marquis.

When the confederate Irish so totally violated and disclaimed the peace, which had been with all that solemnity agreed and entered into, and were preparing to unite all their armies under an entire obedience to the nuncio, that they might in an instant seize upon Dublin, and the few other garrisons where the king's authority was submitted to and preserved, the necessities and straits the lord lieutenant was then in, are before mentioned and remembered. The fortifications and works were in most places too weak to keep out an enemy; no magazines of victual to endure a siege; not ammunition enough to resist and oppose an assault; no money to retain the soldiers from mutiny, till he might obtain relief from England, (which he saw he should be compelled to desire;) there was no way to prevent the fatal issue of those distresses, but by procuring a present supply of money, which might in some degree provide for each extremity: and for the compassing hereof, the marquis brought in all his own money, which, upon the sale or mortgaging of several parcels of his estate, he had raised for the support of himself and his family, and became likewise bound to other persons for considerable sums, with an express promise, upon his honour, that whatever course he should be compelled to take, and if he should be forced to deliver Dublin into the

hands of the parliament, (which was the most visible remedy all men foresaw would, in case of necessity, be laid hold of,) he would make such conditions for the repayment of the money, which upon that occasion should be lent, that he would not himself quit the place till it was performed: and by this means alone, and upon these terms, he procured so much money as composed the present distemper of the soldiers, and supplied those wants that could not be borne.

This was so public an engagement, that no man could be ignorant of it, insomuch as before the first overture for a treaty was sent to the parliament, the privy council, after they had in vain advised the lord lieutenant to demand all that he had disbursed upon the public service, and what he had been hindered from receiving of his own rents, by those who commanded under the parliament, and in their quarters, (which the marquis refused to do,) appointed sir James Ware, auditor general to his majesty, and one of the privy council, to examine the accounts of those disbursements, which had been laid out upon the garrisons, and borrowed and disbursed upon the conditions aforesaid; and upon his certificate, the lords of the council declared, by an instrument under their hands, that the sum amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; a duplicate of which instrument was sent to the parliament by those gentlemen who were first sent to demand a treaty; and the commissioners, who came first to Dublin, frankly, and without dispute, consented to pay the same: so that if that sum of money had been the consideration of delivering the town, it would not have

been kept so long after. When he was the second time necessitated to send to the parliament, and offered to put the town into their hands upon the conditions before consented to by them, he demanded that eight hundred pounds of the said money might presently be paid in England to persons intrusted by him, and three thousand pounds at Dublin before the delivery of the town, towards the satisfaction of what had been borrowed as aforesaid; and that bills of exchange, accepted by good and responsible merchants, might be delivered to him; all which they consented to, and promised to perform: but when the commissioners came to Dublin, the bills which they brought for the said ten thousand pounds were not accepted, nor drawn in such manner as might make them valid; upon which failing on their part, the lord lieutenant made those last offers to the Irish, which are before remembered: but finding no good to be done there, he was content to take the words and protestations of the commissioners, that the said ten thousand pounds should be paid as soon as he should arrive in England; which they were again so far from making good, that they paid him only inconsiderable sums at several payments, and had the greatest part still in their hands when he was forced to leave the kingdom, and which he could never recover from them, they paying it to some of the creditors without any consent of his, and only to such as had interest among them, and for whose sake alone they paid the same.

If the marquis would have been so careful and solicitous for himself, as in justice and honour he might have been, he might well have insisted to

have had the two houses of parliament to have paid him a greater sum of money, which was due to him by their own contract, as lieutenant general of the army, to the time of the cessation, which would have amounted to no less than
and which was paid into their hands upon that account; and he might likewise have demanded a recompense for such money as, arising out of the revenue of his land which lay in their quarters, they had for some years hindered him from receiving, and taken the same to their own use; and no question, if he had demanded either, or both of those just payments, the English would easily have been inclined to have complied with him; and his friends had much more reason to have reproached him for not requiring the one, than his enemies have for receiving the other: but his too nice consideration of what the malice of men might say, prevailed more with him than the sober conclusion of what he might in justice and honour have done, to wave all manner of conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular advantage and benefit, how reasonable and just soever.

It was in the time when the army had gotten the king into their hands, (having taken him from Holmby out of the custody of the commissioners, to whom the Scots had delivered him,) that the marquis arrived in England, and found so many specious pretences and professions published by that party, which then had the whole power in the army, and consequently in the kingdom, that very many believed his majesty's affairs to be in no ill condition, and more seeming respect was paid to his person, and less restraint upon the resort of his faithful

Treachery of the English army.

servants to him, than had been from the time that he put himself into the Scots' power. The army then took upon them the government of the kingdom, having solemnly declared, "that there could "be no reasonable hope of a firm and lasting peace, "if there were not an equal care taken to preserve "the interest of the king, queen, and prince, as of "the liberties of the people, and that both should "with equal care be provided for together:" and in this time of freedom and hypocritical compliance, the marquis had all liberty of repairing to the king, and gave him then an account of all his actions, and of the course he had taken for reviving and preserving his interest in Ireland, by settling a correspondence with many persons of honour there, who would keep the two houses of parliament from obtaining any absolute dominion in that kingdom, if they refused to return to his majesty's obedience, (how great an advantage soever he had given them by the delivery of Dublin into their power,) and who were most like to reduce that nation from the distempers with which they were transported, and to incline them to that subjection that was due from them to the king. With all which (as he had great reason) his majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfied, and gave the marquis direction, in case the independent army should proceed otherwise than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the Irish, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his and their own delivery; and when he discovered by the double dealing and hypocritical demeanour of the officers of the army, (of whom he had earlier jealousy than other men, as seeing further into their

The marquis waits on his majesty. And acquaints him with his care for his majesty's service.

dark designs,) the little good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive some overtures from the Scots commissioners, who were still admitted to reside at London, and to bear a part in the managery of the public affairs, and now plainly saw that the independents' power, which they had so much despised, was grown superior to them, and that they meant to perform nothing less than what they had religiously promised before the king was delivered up at Newcastle. The king commanded the marquis to confer with the principal persons of that commission, who seemed very sensible of the dishonour their nation had incurred, and resolved, by uniting the power of that kingdom for his majesty's service, to undo some of the mischiefs they had wrought; and desired that the marquis of Ormond would likewise transport himself into Ireland, to try once more if he could compose the humours of that people to his majesty's obedience, that so those two kingdoms being entirely reduced to their duty, might (with that assistance they were like to find in England) persuade the violent party to comply with those moderate and just conclusions which would establish the peace and tranquillity of the whole, in a full happiness to prince and people: and from hence was that first engagement designed, which was afterwards so unfortunately conducted by the elder duke Hamilton, and concluded with the ruin of himself, and many worthy and noble persons.

Original of duke of Hamilton's engagement.

When the army had, by their civil and specious carriage and professions, disposed the king's party to wish well to them, at least, better than to the presbyterians, (who seemed to have erected a model

of a more formed and insupportable tyranny, and were less endued with the appearance of humanity and good nature,) and had, by shuffling themselves into new shapes of government, and admitting persons of all conditions to assemble and make propositions to them, in order to a public peace, given encouragement to most men to believe, that all interests would, in some degree, be provided for, and so had brought themselves into an absolute power over all interests; they began to lessen their outward respect and reverence to the king, to inhibit some of his servants absolutely to resort unto him, and more to restrain the frequent access of the people, who, out of an innate duty and affection, delighted often to see his majesty; they caused reports to be raised and scattered abroad of some intentions of desperate persons of violence upon his majesty's person; and upon this pretence doubled their guards, and put officers of more strict vigilance and more sour disposition about him, so that whatsoever he said, did, or was said to him, was more punctually observed. The marquis of Ormond was looked upon with a very jealous eye, and was one of those noble persons who were known too faithful to his master to be suffered to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his attendance on him.

The rebels more strictly confine the king.

The articles that had been made with him at Dublin by the commissioners, and confirmed by the two houses of parliament at Westminster, were every way violated and infringed, in the most important particulars; as in the imprisonment of sir Faithful Fortescue, whose security was provided for by the articles; in the delay that was used in the payment of the money due to him; and whereas he was to

Violate their articles with the marquis.

reside in any part of England he pleased, with all freedom, for the space of one year, without the imposition of any oath or engagement, and at the end thereof, he had liberty to transport himself and his family into what foreign parts he pleased: as soon as they began to be unmasked towards his majesty, they banished the marquis from London, forbidding him to come within twenty-five miles of the city; and all this before he had ever spoke with the Scots commissioners, or given them the least shadow of pretence against him, saving only the having a heart impossible to be corrupted towards his master, and a head and an hand like to be of use to him: and shortly after the king was in the Isle of Wight, directions were given to apprehend and seize upon the person of the marquis of Ormond; who thereupon concluding from their wicked carriage and barbarous demeanour towards his majesty, whom they had now made close prisoner in Carisbrook castle, that it would be very impertinent for him to insist upon the performance, and to expostulate for the breach of the agreement which had been made with him, with all secrecy transported himself out of the kingdom, and arrived safely in France about the end of the year 1647, having spent in England little more, from the time that he came out of Ireland, than six months.

And banish him from London.

And give orders to seize him.

He secretly leaves England, and arrives in France.

The marquis no sooner found himself at liberty, and out of the reach of his enemies, than he projected again to visit Ireland, where his presence was impatiently longed for. When he had left that kingdom upon those breaches of faith so often repeated by the Irish, and their stupid submission to the pope's nuncio, (as is before remembered,) he had

He projects again to visit Ireland.

specially recommended to the marquis of Clanrickard and the viscount Taaffe, (who had from the beginning, without the least pause, preserved their duty to his majesty entire; and, being Roman catholics, had publicly opposed the unreasonable and extravagant usurpation of the nuncio,) to use their utmost power and dexterity to retain the affections of that party of the Irish, who had been very desirous that the former peace might have been effectual, and were really inclined to pay all obedience to his majesty, so that they might not be drawn under the subjection of the nuncio, but be ready again to submit to the king's authority, when it should appear again in the kingdom, and if the affairs of England should be without hopes of composure: and accordingly the marquis of Clanrickard, by his interest and authority in the province of Connaught, disposed that people to a temper ready to be applied to those ends he should direct them; and the viscount Taaffe commanded a good army of horse and foot in the province of Munster, firmly united to obey him in any action that might contribute to the king's advantage. The forces under the nuncio were much weakened, partly by the defeat of general Preston, whose army was totally routed and destroyed by the parliament's forces, within less than a month after they had compelled the marquis to leave the kingdom, and partly by the dislike which the great council of the confederate catholics had of the demeanour of the nuncio, and the experience they now had of his ill conduct, and the miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the peace, which would have been so advantageous to them.

The lord Inchiquin, whom (shortly after the first cessation was consented to by the lord lieutenant) the Irish, contrary to their faith, had endeavoured to surprise, and get the towns in Munster under his command into their hands, and thereby compelled him to defend himself still against them by a sharp war, in which he had given them many overthrows, and upon the matter driven them out of that province, had held a correspondence with the marquis of Ormond whilst he was in England; and as soon as he came into France, desired him to make what haste he might into Ireland, where he should find the army under his command, and all the important towns of that province under his command, ready to submit to him, and to be conducted by him in the king's service, in any way he should command: and in the mean time he made an agreement with the Irish, under the command of the marquis of Clanrickard and the lord Taaffe, with the approbation of the supreme council of the confederate catholics, and sent them part of his army to assist them in an expedition they were then entered upon against the nuncio and Owen Roe O'Neal; in which they prevailed so far, that Owen O'Neal found it necessary to retire to a great distance; and they drove the nuncio himself into the town of Galway, where they besieged him so close with the army, that they compelled the town, after near two months' siege, to pay a good sum of money to be distributed among the soldiers, and to disclaim any further subjection or submission to the nuncio's unlimited jurisdiction; who, after he had, with less effect, and reverence from the catholics, than formerly, issued out his excommunications against all those who complied with

Lord Inchiquin invites him into Munster.

The confederate catholics make war against the nuncio.

And besiege him in Galway.

The nuncio compelled to fly from Ireland.

the cessation of the lord Inchiquin, was compelled in the end, after so much mischief done to the religion which he was obliged to protect, in an obscure manner, to fly out of the kingdom.

And because the impudent injustice and imprudence of the nuncio, and the too tame subjection of the people to his immoderate and impetuous humour and spirit was, in truth, the real fountain from whence this torrent of calamities flowed, which hath since overwhelmed that miserable nation; and because that exorbitant power of his was resolutely opposed by catholics of the most eminent parts and interests, and in the end (though too late) expelled by them; it will be but justice to the memory of those noble persons, who themselves and their ancestors have been eminent assertors of the Roman religion, and never departed from a full submission to that church, briefly to recollect the sum of that unhappy person's carriage and behaviour, from the time that he was first designed to that employment, to the end that the Roman catholic religion and the Irish nation may discern what they owe to his activity and government, and that the world may judge how impossible it was for the marquis of Ormond to preserve a people, who so implicitly resigned themselves to the councils, directions, and disposal of such a nature and disposition: and in doing hereof, no other language shall be used than what was part of a memorial delivered by an honourable and zealous catholic, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable behaviour of the nuncio to the pope himself, which runs in these very words; speaking of the nuncio he declared,

Memorial to the pope against the nuncio.

"That, before he left Rome, he would not admit,

" either in his company or his family, any person of " the English nation. In his voyage, before he ar- " rived at Paris, he wrote to his friends in Rome, " with great joy, the news (although it proved after " false) that the Irish confederates had treacherously " surprised the city of Dublin, while they were in " truce with the royal party, and treating about an " accommodation and peace. Arriving at Paris, " (where he shut himself up for many months,) he " never vouchsafed (I will not say) to participate " with the queen of England any thing touching " his nunciature, but not in the least degree to re- " verence or visit her majesty, (save only one time " upon the score of courtesy,) as if he had been sent " to her capital enemy, and not to her own subjects. " Being arrived in Ireland, he employed presently " all his power to dissolve that treaty of peace with " the king, which was then almost brought to per- " fection, and his diligence succeeded; on which he " valued himself, rejoiced and insulted beyond mea- " sure, in the letters he wrote to Paris, which were " after shewed to the queen: and he may say truly, " that in that kingdom he hath rather managed the " royal sceptre, than the pastoral staff; for that he " hath aimed more to be held the minister of the " supreme prince of Ireland *in temporalibus*, than a " nuncio from the pope *in spiritualibus*: making " himself president of the council, he hath managed " the affairs of the supreme council of state; he hath " by his own arbitrement excluded from it those " who did not second him, although, by nobleness " of birth, by allegiance, by prudence, and by zeal " to religion, they were the most honourable; and " only because they shewed themselves faithful sub-

" jects to their natural prince, and friends to the " quiet of their country; of these he hath caused " many to be imprisoned, with great scandal and " danger of sedition: in short, he hath assumed a " distributive power both in civil and military af- " fairs, giving out orders, commissions, and powers " under his own name, subscribed by his own hand, " and made authentic with his seal for the govern- " ment of the armies, and of the state, and commis- " sions for reprisals at sea. He struck in, presently " after his arrival in Ireland, with that party of the " natives who are esteemed not only irreconcileable " with the English, but with the greatest and best " part of the Irish nobility, as likewise with the " most civil and most considerable people of that " island; and the better to support that party and " faction, he hath procured the church to be fur- " nished with a clergy and bishops of the same tem- " per, excluding those persons who were recom- " mended by the queen, and who for doctrine and " virtue were above all exceptions; and all this con- " trary to what your holiness was pleased to pro- " mise. The queen was not yet discouraged, but so " laboured to renew the treaty of peace, already " once broken and disordered by monsieur Rinucci- " ni, that, by means of her majesty, it was not only " reassumed, but in the end, after great difficulty " and opposition on his part, the peace was con- " cluded between the royal party and the confede- " rate catholics, and warranted not only by the " king's word, but also by the restitution of arms, " castles, and forts, and of the civil magistrates, with " the possession of churches and of ecclesiastical be- " nefices, and with the free exercise of the catholic

" religion; and all this should have been established
" by a public decree, and authentic laws made by
" the three estates assembled in a free parliament:
" by this peace and confederacy they would have
" rescued themselves from the damages of a ruinous
" war; have purchased security to their consciences
" and to their temporal estates; succoured the royal
" party and the catholics in England with a certain
" restitution and liberty of the king, whereon de-
" pended absolutely the welfare of the catholics in
" all his kingdoms; the apostolical chair had quitted
" itself of all engagements and expense with honour
" and glory. This treaty of peace, on all sides so
" desirable, monsieur Rinuccini broke with such vio-
" lence, that he forced the marquis of Ormond, vice-
" roy of Ireland, to precipitate himself (contrary to
" his affections and inclinations) into the arms of
" the parliament of England, to the unspeakable
" damage of the king and of the catholics, not only
" of Ireland, but also of England; and he incensed
" the greatest and best part of the Irish nobility,
" and rendered the venerable name of the holy apo-
" stolic chair odious to the heretics, with small sa-
" tisfaction to the catholic princes themselves of Eu-
" rope; as though it sought not the spiritual good
" of souls, but a temporal interest, by making itself
" lord over Ireland: and when the lord Digby and
" the lord Biron endeavoured, on the marquis of
" Ormond's part, to incline him to a new treaty of
" peace, he did not only disdain to admit them, or
" to accept the overture; but understanding that
" the lord Biron was with great danger and fatigue
" come to a town in the county of Westmeath, where
" he was, to speak with him, he forced the earl, that

" was the chief lord of it, to send him away (con-
" trary to all laws of courtesy and humanity) in the
" night time, exposed to extraordinary inconveni-
" ences and dangers amongst those distractions, pro-
" testing, that otherwise he himself would immedi-
" ately depart the town. By these proceedings, mon-
" sieur Rinuccini hath given the world occasion to
" believe, that he had private and secret commis-
" sions to change the government of Ireland, and to
" separate that island from the crown of England;
" and this opinion is the more confirmed, since that
" one 'Mahoni[c], a Jesuit, hath printed a book in
" Portugal, wherein he endeavours to prove, that all
" the kings of England have been either tyrants or
" usurpers of Ireland, and so fallen from the domi-
" nion of it, exhorting all its natives to get thither,
" and to use all cruelty against the English, with
" expressions full of villainy and reproach, and to
" choose a new king of their own country; and this
" book, so barbarous and bloody, dispersed through
" Ireland, is as yet tolerated by the catholic and
" apostolic chair: and the Continuation of the His-
" tory of Cardinal Baronius was published at the
" same time, under the name of Olderico Raynaldo;
" in the which he positively endeavours to establish
" the supreme right and dominion of the apostolical
" chair, even *in temporalibus*, over England and
" Ireland. I leave to every man to consider, whe-
" ther all these actions are not apt enough to beget
" jealousies and to breed naughty blood; and whe-
" ther I ought not, out of a great respect to the
" public good, to represent with some ardency to

[c] *In MS.* Marcello, or some such name

" your holiness the actions of monsieur Rinuccini, " so unseasonable, and directly contrary to those " ends for which it is supposed he was employed: " and I beseech your holiness to consider, if any " king, not only protestant but even catholic, had " seen an apostolic nuncio to lord it in his domi- " nions in such a manner as monsieur Rinuccini hath " done in Ireland, what jealousies, what complaints, " and how many inconveniences would thereby fol- " low?"

This was part of that remonstrance presented to the pope himself, by an eminent catholic minister of great reputation, on behalf of the catholics of Ireland; who, instead of being relieved and supported, were oppressed and destroyed by the nuncio: and I presume this extract will be of greater authority and credit with the world, to inform them of the proceedings there, than any thing scattered abroad in an unowned pamphlet can be towards the incensing them against persons of honour, whom they know not; and I heartily wish that the passion and unskilfulness of that haughty prelate may either have an influence upon the catholics to discern the exceeding ill consequence that must naturally attend such violent and unnatural interpositions, and how it may alienate the affections of princes from complying with a power that will prescribe no modest or civil limits and bounds to itself, and incline the affections of protestants to animosities or uncharitable conclusions, that the papal chair affects a sovereignty over the hearts of her children, which is inconsistent with that duty which they owe to their princes; and thereupon to abhor a conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the duties

and offices of Christian love and friendship; and with whom they ought to constitute a joint subjection and allegiance to the king, according to the laws and policy of the kingdom, of which they are subjects.

The marquis in vain solicits supplies from France.

After the marquis of Ormond had in vain solicited a supply of money in France, to the end that he might carry some relief to a kingdom so harassed and worn, and be the better able to unite those, who would be sure to have temptations enough of profit to the contrary, to the king's obedience; he was at last compelled, being with great importunity called for by the lord Inchiquin, and the rest who upheld his majesty's interest, to transport himself, unfurnished with money, arms, or ammunition, and without any other retinue than his own servants, and three or four friends: and in this equipage he arrived in Ireland about the end of September, in the year 1648, and landed at Cork, where he was received by the lord Inchiquin, lord president in the province of Munster. It must not be forgotten, that during the time the marquis was in France, and after the parliament forces had, upon so great inequality of numbers, defeated the Irish, and in all encounters driven them into their fastnesses, the confederate catholics had easily discerned the mischiefs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the king's authority out of the kingdom, and introducing the other, which had no purposes of mercy towards them; therefore they had sent the lord marquis of Antrim, the lord viscount Muskerry, and others, as their commissioners, to the queen of England, and to her son the prince of Wales, who were both then at Paris; "to beseech them" (since

Arrives in Ireland with a small retinue.

by reason of the king's imprisonment they could not be suffered to apply themselves to his majesty) " to " take compassion of the miserable condition of Ire- " land, and to restore that nation to their protec- " tion;" making ample professions and protestations of duty, and of applying themselves for the future to his majesty's service, if they might once again be owned by him, and countenanced and conducted by his authority. Thereupon the queen and prince had answered those persons, that they would shortly send a person qualified to treat with them, who should have power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their security and happiness; with which answer they returned well satisfied into Ireland: so that as soon as the lord lieutenant was landed at Cork, he wrote to the assembly of the confederate catholics then at Kilkenny, that he was, upon the humble petition which they had presented to the queen and prince, come with full power to conclude a peace with them; and to that purpose desired that as little time might be lost as was possible, but that commissioners might be sent to him to his house at Carrick, whither he would go to expect them, being within fourteen miles of the place where the assembly then sat; who were so much the gladder of his presence, by the obligation they had newly received from the king's authority: for when the nuncio and Owen O'Neal had thought to have surprised them, and to have compelled them to renounce the cessation, the lord Inchiquin, being sent to by them for his protection, had marched with his army to their relief, and forced O'Neal to retire over the Shannon, and thereby restored them to liberty and freedom: so that they returned a message of joy and congra-

Writes to the assembly at Kilkenny.

tulation to the lord lieutenant for his safe arrival, and appointed commissioners to treat with him at the place he had appointed. It was the nineteenth of October that the commissioners came to Carrick, the house of the marquis, where they continued about twenty days, which they spent principally in the matter of religion; in treating whereof, they were so bound and limited by their instructions, and could make so little progress of themselves, being still to give account to the assembly of whatsoever was proposed or offered by the lord lieutenant, and to expect its determination and direction before they proceeded, that for the husbanding of time, which was now very precious, (the rebels of England every day more discovering their bloody purposes towards the king,) the assembly thought fit to desire the marquis to repair to his own castle at Kilkenny, which they offered to deliver into his hands; and that for his honour and security he should bring his own guards, who should have that reception that was due to them: and upon this invitation, about the middle of November, he went to Kilkenny; before his entry into which, he was met by the whole body of the assembly, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry residing there; and in the town was received with all those requisite ceremonies, by the mayor and aldermen, as such a corporation use to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom: so that a greater evidence could not be given of an entire union in the desire of returning to the king's obedience, or of more affection and respect to the person of the lord lieutenant, who (by his steady pursuing those professions he had always made; by his neglect and contempt of the rebels,

Commissioners sent to treat with the marquis.

The marquis invited to Kilkenny by the assembly.

and their prodigious power whilst he was in England; and by his refusing all the overtures made by them unto him for his particular benefit, if he would live in the kingdom, and by their declared and manifest hatred and malice towards him) was now superior to all those calumnies they had aspersed him with, and confessed him to be worthy of a joint trust from the most different and divided interests and designs. However, there were so many passions, humours, and interests to be complied with, and all conclusions to pass the approbation of so many votes, that it was the middle of January before all opinions could be so reconciled, as to produce a perfect and entire compact and agreement; which about that time passed with that miraculous consent and unity, that in the whole assembly, in which were the catholic bishops, there was not one dissenting voice: so that on the seventeenth of January, the whole assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant, in his castle at Kilkenny; and there, with all solemnity imaginable, presented him, by the hand of their chairman, or speaker, the articles of peace, as concluded, assented, and submitted to by the whole body of the catholic nation of Ireland; which he received and solemnly confirmed on his majesty's behalf, and caused the same that day to be proclaimed in that town, to the great joy of all that were present; and it was with all speed accordingly proclaimed, and as joyfully received in all the cities and corporate towns which professed any allegiance to the king throughout the kingdom: and for the better reception thereof among the people, and to manifest the satisfaction and joy they took in it, the catholic bishops sent out

Peace concluded.

their letters and declarations, that they were abundantly satisfied in whatsoever concerned religion and the secure practice thereof.

When the articles of peace were presented in that solemn manner to him by the assembly, after the speech made by the presenter, the lord lieutenant expressed himself in these words to them.

" *My lords and gentlemen,*

Lord lieutenant's speech to the assembly.

" I shall not speak to these expressions of duty " and loyalty, digested into a discourse by the gen- " tleman appointed by you to deliver your sense; " you will presently have in your hands greater and " more solid arguments of his majesty's gracious ac- " ceptance, than I can commemorate, or, perhaps, " yourselves discover: for besides the provision " made against the remotest fears, fear of severity of " certain laws, and besides many freedoms and " bounties conveyed to you and your posterity by " these articles, there is a door, and that a large " one, not left, but purposely set open to give you " entrance, by your future merit, to whatsoever of " honour and advantage you can reasonably wish: " so that you have in present fruition what may " abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no bounds " set to your hopes, but you are rather invited, or, " to use another phrase, (but to another and better " purpose,) you seem to have a call from Heaven, to " exercise your arms and uttermost fortitude, in the " noblest and justest cause the world hath seen; " for, let all the circumstances incident to a great " and good cause be examined, and they will be " found comprehended in that which you now are " warrantably called to defend. Religion, not in

" the narrow circumscribed definition of it, by this " or that late found out name, but Christian reli- " gion is our quarrel; which certainly is as much " and totally struck at (I may say more) by the " blasphemous licence of this age, than ever it was " by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous " and avowed enemies to Christianity; the vene- " rable laws, and the fundamental constitutions of " our ancestors are trodden under impious and (for " the most part) mechanic feet! the sacred person " of our king (the life of those laws, and head of " those constitutions) is under an ignominious im- " prisonment, and his life threatened to be taken " away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of " the people that owe him obedience! and (to en- " dear the quarrel unto you) the fountain of all the " benefits you have but now acknowledged, and " which you may further hope for by this peace, " and your own merit, is in danger to be obstructed " by the execrable murder of the worthiest prince " that ever ruled these islands! In short, hell can " add nothing to the desperate mischiefs now openly " projected. And now judge if a greater and more " glorious field was ever set open to action, and then " prepare yourselves to enter into it, receiving those " few advices from him that is throughly embarked " with you in the adventure.

" First, let me recommend to you, that to this, as " to all holy actions, (as certainly this is,) you will " prepare yourselves with perfect charity; a charity " that may obliterate whatever rancour the long " continued war may have contracted in you against " any that shall now cooperate with you in so blessed " a work: and let his engagement with you in this

" (whoever he is) be, as it ought to be, a bond of " unity, of love, and of concord, stronger than the " nearest tie of nature.

" In the next place, mark and beware of those " who shall go about to renew jealousies in you, un- " der what pretence soever, and account such as the " infernal ministers employed to promote the black " design on foot, to subject monarchy, and to make " us all slaves to their own avaricious lusts. Away, " as soon and as much as possible may be, with " distinctions of nations and parties, which are the " fields wherein the seeds of those rancorous weeds " are sown by the great enemy of our peace.

" In the last place, let us all divest ourselves of " that preposterous and ridiculous ambition and " self-interest, which rather leads to our own threat- " ened general ruin, than to the enjoyment of ad- " vantages unreasonably desired; and if at any time " you think yourselves pinched too near the bone " by those taxes and charges that may be imposed " for your defence, consider then how vain, how " foolish a thing it will be, to starve a righteous " cause for want of necessary support, to preserve " ourselves fat and gilded sacrifices to the rapine of " a merciless enemy. And if we come thus well " prepared to a contention so just on our part, God " will bless our endeavours with success and vic- " tory, or will crown our sufferings with honour and " patience: for what honour will it not be, (if God " hath so determined of us,) to perish with a long " glorious monarchy? And who can want patience " to suffer with an oppressed prince? But as our " endeavours, so let our prayers be vigorous, that he " may be delivered from a more unnatural rebellion.

" (than is mentioned by any story,) now raised to " the highest pitch of success against him.

" I should now say something to you as to my- " self, in retribution to the advantageous mention " made of me, and my endeavours in the bringing " this settlement to pass; but I confess my thoughts " are taken up with those much greater concern- " ments: let it suffice, that as I wish to be con- " tinued in your good esteem and affection, so I " shall freely adventure upon any hazard, and " esteem no trouble or difficulty too great to encoun- " ter, if I may manifest any zeal to this cause, and " discharge some part of the obligations that are " upon me, to serve this kingdom."

It will not be here necessary to insert the articles of the peace, which are publicly known to the world; it is enough to say, that the lord lieutenant not only granted all that was in the judgment of the Roman catholic bishops, and even of the bishop of Fernes, requisite to the peaceable, secure profession of that religion, with such countenance of, and support to it, as from the first planting of it it had never (in some respects) been possessed of in that kingdom; but was likewise compelled so far to comply with the fears and jealousies of men, (who, by often breaking their faith, and from a greater guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promised to them might not be hereafter observed,) as to divest himself of that full and absolute power that was inherent in his office, and was never more fit to be exercised than for the carrying on of that design, in which they seemed all to agree, and to make twelve commissioners (named and chosen by the assembly to look to

the observation and performance of the said articles, until the same should be ratified by the king in a full and peaceable convention of parliament) joint sharers with him in his authority; so that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor so much as erect garrisons, without the approbation and consent of the major part of those commissioners: the danger and mischief of which limitation and restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that people, and the composing them to an entire confidence in the peace, (which could be compassed no other way,) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it: and then the affections and abilities of the commissioners were so well known and approved by him, that having most of them the same good end with him, he presumed he should, with the less difficulty, be able to persuade them which were the nearest and most natural ways that conduced thereunto.

O'Neal refuses to submit to the peace.

With what consent and unity soever this peace was made, by those who had any pretence to trust, or to whom there was the least deputation of authority and power by the nation, yet Owen O'Neal (who had the greatest influence upon the humours and inclinations of the old Irish, who had given themselves up to the nuncio, and who indeed had a better disciplined, and consequently a stronger army, at his command, than the confederate catholics had at their devotion) still refused to submit to it; so that the lord lieutenant, as soon as the peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, to remove some garrisons he held, which infested those who obeyed the acts of the assembly, and to prevent his incursions, as to raise an army against

the spring, with which to march against the English rebels, who were possessed of Dublin, and all the country and important places in that circuit, and who, he was sure, would be supplied with all the assistance of shipping, men, money, victuals, and ammunition, which the inhuman and bloody rebels of England (who had now murdered their sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the name and title of a commonwealth) could send to them: and he was in a worse condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy temper and constitution of the Scots in Ulster, who being very numerous, and possessed of considerable towns, though they abhorred the English rebels, and were not reconcileable to Owen O'Neal and his army, were yet as uninclined to the peace made with the confederate catholics, and far from paying an obedience and full submission to the orders and government of the lord lieutenant, maintaining at the same time the presbyterian form in the church, and an utter independency in the state; and out of those contradictory ingredients, compounding such a peevish and wayward affection and duty to the king, as could not be applied to the bearing any part in the great work the marquis was incumbent to. So that whosoever will wisely revolve and consider this wild conjuncture of affairs, and that towards the subduing the power, strength, and wealth of the English rebels, and the equal malice and hardiness of Owen O'Neal and his party, as much, or, in truth, more contracted against the confederate catholics than the king's authority, and to the forcing and disposing the useless and unprofitable pretences of affection in the Scots, and reducing them to obedience,

The many difficulties the marquis had to struggle with.

the marquis brought over with him neither men nor money, nor any advantage but that of his own person, wisdom, and reputation, and was now, upon the peace, to constitute an army, not only of several nations and religions, and of much passion and superciliousness in those opinions which flowed from their several religions, but of such men, who had, for above the space of eight years, prosecuted a sharp war against each other, with all the circumstances of animosity, rapine, and revenge, and who were now brought into this reconciliation and conjunction, rather by the wonderful wisdom and dexterity of the principal commanders, than by their own charity and inclinations; and that, in the forming of this army, he had not above six or seven officers, upon whose skill in martial affairs, and affection to him, he could, with any confidence, depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and such, who either had no experience in war, or who had always been in arms against him; I say, whosoever without passion considers all this, will rather wonder that the marquis did not sink under the weight of the first attempt, and that he could proceed with success in any one enterprise, than that an army so made up should, upon the first misadventure, be dissolved into jealousies and prejudices amongst themselves, and that all the confusions should follow, which naturally attend such compositions.

As soon as the peace was thus concluded, proclaimed, and accepted, the lord lieutenant took a survey of the stores of arms and ammunition, and other provisions necessary for the army, which was to be brought together in the spring, and found all very

short of what he expected, and (what, in truth, was absolutely necessary to the work) the ways for raising money, with which all the rest was to be supplied, in no degree to be depended on: the cities and incorporate towns, where, upon the matter, all the wealth was, having never submitted further to the general assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their party, but like so many several commonwealths, ordered all contributions and payments of money by their own acts and determinations; nor would, upon the most emergent occasion, suffer any money to be raised in any other proportion, or in any other manner, than best agreed with their own humour and conveniencies: so that the commissioners advised and besought the lord lieutenant to make a journey in person to such of those corporations as were best able to assist him, and, by his own presence and interest, to endeavour to persuade them to express that affection for the peace that they had professed. Thereupon he went, with a competent number of the commissioners, to Waterford, and from thence to Limerick, and then to Galway; from which several places he procured the loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the general assembly had ever been able to do; and by this means, which cost him much labour and time, he found himself in a condition to draw the several forces together; which he did about the beginning of May, having made the lord Inchiquin, lieutenant general of the army; the earl of Castlehaven, lieutenant general of the horse; and the lord Taaffe, general of the artillery: and it being thought fit to lose as little time as might be in marching towards Dublin, as soon as any consider-

Lord lieutenant borrows money of the towns.

Promotions in the army.

able numbers of men were come together, he sent the earl of Castlehaven with them, to take in several garrisons which were possessed by Owen O'Neal in the Queen's county, which was the way he intended to march, and so would have no enemy in his rear; and accordingly the earl took the fort of Maryborough, and other places in that county, and Athy and Reban, in the county of Kildare, whereby the passage was opened for their further march. Having in this manner begun the campaign, the lord lieutenant appointed a general rendezvous of the whole army at Cloghgrenan, a house of his own upon the river of Barrow, near the castle of Catherlough, where he made a conjunction of all the forces, protestants and Roman catholics, who (by the wisdom and temper of the principal officers) mingled well enough, and together, about the end of May, made a body of three thousand seven hundred horse, and fourteen thousand five hundred foot, with a train of artillery, consisting of four pieces of ordnance: but when they were now met, all the money which could be raised by the commissioners, or which had been paid by the incorporate towns, was so near spent in drawing the soldiers out of their quarters, and in those short expeditions into the Queen's county, and county of Kildare, that they could not have advanced in their march, if the lord lieutenant had not, upon his private credit, borrowed the sum of eight hundred pounds sterling of a private [a] gentleman, (to whom the same still remains due,) by means whereof he gave the common soldiers four days' pay, and so marched about the beginning of June from Cloghrenan, and the same evening appeared before Talbot's town, a strong

Earl of Castlehaven takes some of O'Neal's garrisons.

Rendezvous of the army.

[a] Sir Jam. Preston.

garrison of the enemy's, which, together with Castle Talbot, (two miles distant from the other,) was within three days surrendered to the marquis, upon promise of quarter. From thence he marched to Kildare, which town was likewise in a short time surrendered to him. Here he was compelled to stay three or four days, both for want of provision, and for a recruit of two thousand foot, which, by the lord Inchiquin's care and diligence, were then upon the march; and being joined, he was in hopes, by a sudden and speedy march, to have engaged Jones, who at that time was marched a good distance from Dublin with his army; and so encouraging his soldiers with three days' pay, (which he was likewise compelled to borrow on his credit, out of the pockets of persons of quality attending on him, and of the officers of the army,) he passed the river of Liffey; and Jones, having gotten intelligence of his motion, in great disorder raised his camp, and retired into Dublin.

The marquis takes in Talbot's town and Castle Talbot,

And Kildare.

Obliges Jones to raise his camp.

The marquis encamped his whole army at the Naas, twelve miles from Dublin, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken or attempted, it being now about the middle of June: that which appeared worthy of debate was, whether the army should first make an attempt upon Dublin, in which it was believed there were very many, both officers and soldiers, and other persons of quality, well affected to the king's service, and who had formerly served under the marquis, and esteemed him accordingly, who might make that work the more easy; or whether it should be first applied to the taking in of Trym, Drogheda, and the other out garrisons, from whence the city received much pro-

Council of war.

vision of all kinds, and from whence the provisions to the army would be cut off, and much other prejudice might ensue: but upon a full consideration, the council of war, which consisted of the general officers, inclined to the former, concluding that, if they could take Dublin, all the other places would quickly fall into their hands; and if they should delay it, and waste their provision in those lesser attempts, there might probably arrive out of England such supplies of men, money, and other necessaries to the rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important work almost impossible.

Resolve to attempt the taking of Dublin.

Hereupon the lord lieutenant marched the very next morning towards Dublin, and that afternoon repassed the whole army again over the river of Liffey, by the bridge of Lucan, and encamping near that place, to rest his men a few hours of the night, he marched very early in the morning, being the 19th of June, and appeared by nine of the clock at a place called Castle-Knock, in view of the city; and hearing that Jones had drawn out all his horse into a green, not far from the walls, he sent a party of horse and musketeers to face them, while he drew his whole body within less than cannon shot of their gates, hoping thereby to give some countenance to those in the town, to raise some commotion within; and having spent most part of the day in this posture and expectation, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he found it necessary to draw off, and encamped that night at a place two miles from the town, called Finglass; whither great multitudes of the Roman catholics (whereof most were aged men, and women, and children, whom Jones had turned out of the city) repaired to him,

The lord lieutenant marches towards Dublin.

all whom he sent with all due order for their reception into the quarters adjacent.

The marquis was no sooner in his quarters, than he received sure intelligence that Jones had sent his horse to Drogheda, from whence they would have been able to have distressed his army several ways, and to have intercepted the provisions which came out of the country out of the magazines, which were at least thirty miles distant; and the principal officers of the army were of opinion, upon the view they had taken that day of the enemy, and the countenance they had observed of their own men, that they were not sufficiently provided for a formal siege, and as ill to attack the town upon a brisk attempt; and therefore he resolved to remain encamped at that place for some time, whereby he might take the advantage of any opportunity they within the town would administer unto him; and presently sent the lord Inchiquin, lieutenant general of the army, with a strong party of horse to pursue the rebels' horse, which were sent for Drogheda; which he did so successfully, that he surprised one whole troop, and afterwards encountered colonel Coote in the head of three hundred horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest; who, in a disordered haste, fled into Drogheda. The lord Inchiquin presently sent advertisement of his success, and that he had reason to believe, that if he pursued this advantage, and made an attempt on the town while this terror possessed the rebels, he should make himself master of it.

Lord Inchiquin defeats a body of Jones's horse.

Whereupon, and in respect of the great importance of the place, the reduction whereof would produce a secure correspondence with, and give a great

encouragement to, the Scots in Ulster; who made great professions of duty to the king, and had now, under the conduct of the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, driven sir Charles Coote into the city of Londonderry, and, upon the matter, beleaguered him there; the lord lieutenant, by the advice of the council of war, approved the design, and to that purpose sent him two good regiments of foot, and two pieces of artillery, and such ammunition and materials as could be spared; wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within seven days he compelled the rebels to yield upon quarter, and reduced the town to the king's obedience.

Takes Drogheda.

There was now very reasonable ground for hope, that the English rebels would quickly find themselves in notable straits and distresses; when it was on a sudden discovered how very active and dexterous the spirit of rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who were possessed by it, (how contrary soever their principles and ends seem to be,) and to contribute jointly to the opposing and oppressing that lawful power, which they had both equally injured and provoked.

The parliament party, who had heaped so many reproaches and calumnies upon the king for his clemency to the Irish, who had founded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman catholic religion, and even with any humanity towards the Irish nation, and more especially towards those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had, upon the matter, sworn to extirpate; and Owen O'Neal himself being of that most ancient sept, and his whole army consisting only of such who

avowed no other cause for their first entrance into rebellion, but matter of religion, and "that the "power of the parliament was like to be so preva- "lent and great, that the king himself would not "be able to extend his mercy and favours towards "them, which they seemed to be confident he was, "in his own gracious disposition, inclined to ex- "press, and therefore professed to take up arms "against that exorbitant power only of them, and "to retain hearts full of devotion and duty to his "majesty;" and who, at present, by underhand and secret treaties with the lord lieutenant, seemed more irreconciled to the proceedings of the general assembly, and to the persons of those who he thought governed there, than to make any scruple of submitting to the king's authority, in the person of the marquis, to which and to whom he protested all duty and reverence: these two so contrary and disagreeing elements had, I say, by the subtle and volatile spirit of hypocrisy and rebellion, found a way to incorporate together; and Owen O'Neal had promised and contracted with the other, that he would compel the lord lieutenant to retire and draw off his army from about Dublin, by his invading with his army those parts of Leinster and Munster which yielded most, or indeed all, the provisions and subsistence to the marquis, and which he presumed the marquis would not leave to be spoiled and desolated by his incursions: for the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this expedition, colonel Monke, governor of Dundalk, (and who was the second person in command among the English rebels,) had promised to deliver him, out of the stores of that garrison, a good quantity of powder, bullet, and match

O'Neal acts in concert with the English rebels.

proportionable; for the fetching whereof, Owen O'Neal had sent Farrell, the lieutenant general of his army, with a party of five hundred foot and three hundred horse, at the same time that Drogheda was taken by the lord Inchiquin; who, being there advertised of that new contracted friendship, resolved to give some interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few hours after Farrell had received the ammunition at Dundalk, he fell upon him, and routed all his horse, and of the five hundred foot, there were not forty that escaped, but were either slain or taken prisoners, and got all the ammunition, and with it so good an account of the present state of Dundalk, that he immediately encamped before it; and in two days compelled Monke (who would else have been delivered up by his own soldiers) to surrender the place; where was a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries for the war, most of the officers and soldiers with all alacrity engaging themselves in his majesty's service.

Inchiquin defeats a body of O'Neal's army.

Takes Dundalk.

Upon this success, the lesser garrisons of Newry, Narrow Water, Green Castle, and Carlingford, were easily subjected; and the lord Inchiquin, in his return, being appointed to visit Trym, the only garrison left to the rebels in those parts, except Dublin, in two days after he had besieged it, made himself master of it, and so returned with his party (not impaired by the service) to the lord lieutenant, in his camp at Finglass.

And reduces other garrisons.

Owen O'Neal still continued his affection to the English rebels; and when he found that his design of drawing the king's army from Dublin could not succeed, he hasted into Ulster, and upon the pay-

O'Neal relieves the English rebels in Londonderry.

ment of two thousand pounds in money, some ammunition, and about two thousand cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, the only considerable place in that province that held for the English rebels, and which was even then reduced to extremity by the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, and must in few days have submitted to the king's authority, if it had not been in that manner relieved by the unfortunate Irish.

All the places of moment near Dublin being thus reduced, and the lord Inchiquin having put competent garrisons into them, and yet returned into the camp with a stronger party than he marched out with, on the 24th day of July, the marquis took a view of his whole army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand foot, and about four thousand horse, which, though a good force, was not equal to the work of forming a regular siege of so large and populous a city as Dublin, and as unfit to storm it; therefore it was resolved still to continue the former design of straitening it, until the necessities within abated the obstinacy of that people: for the better doing whereof, the lord viscount Dillon, of Costello, was appointed to remain still on the north side of the town with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to block it up, having two or three small places of strength to retire unto upon any occasion; and the lord lieutenant, the next day, marched with the remainder of the army over the river of Liffey, to the south side, to a place called Rathmines, where he resolved to encamp, and from whence, by reason of the narrowness of the river, he might discourage any attempt of sending relief into the town by sea from England; and, in

Lord lieutenant reviews his army.

Encamps at Rathmines.

truth, if he had come time enough to have raised a work upon a point there, some interruption might have been given to that enterprise: but it pleased God that the very same day (the 25th of July) the marquis marched thither, and in the sight of his army, as it marched, a strong gale of wind from the east brought into Dublin colonel Reynold and colonel Venables, with a good supply of horse and foot, money, and all other necessaries whereof the garrison stood in need, which marvellously exalted the spirits of all those who were devoted to the obedience of the rebels, and depressed the minds of those who watched all opportunities of doing service to the king: however, the marquis pursued his resolution, and encamped that night at Rathmines, and the next day made himself strong there, till upon information (he was sure to receive of the enemy's state and condition) he might better conclude what was next to be done.

Supplies to the rebels arrive at Dublin.

There were many honest men within the city, who still found means to send the marquis advertisement of what was necessary for him to know; and the same ships that brought supplies from and for the rebels brought likewise intelligence from those that wished well to the king's service, to the lord lieutenant, and to other persons of honour who were with him, and from several persons of known integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the council of the rebels, it was informed that this supply which was already landed at Dublin was all that was intended for that place, and believed to be sufficient to defend it against any army the marquis could bring to attack it; and that Cromwell, who was enough known to be ready in

England to embark with a great army, meant to land in Munster, a country but lately fallen from their devotion, and where there were still too many inclined to him, and thereby to compel the lord lieutenant to rise from Dublin: and it is very true, that at that time Cromwell was resolved to have proceeded in that manner. Upon this joint intelligence, for it came from some persons to the lord lieutenant, and from others to the lord Inchiquin, it was upon a consultation with the general officers concluded absolutely necessary that the lord Inchiquin, being president of Munster, should immediately, with a strong party of horse, repair into that province, whereby at least the garrisons there might be supported against any sudden attempt of the enemy, if they should land there; and that the army being thus weakened by the quality as well as the number of this party, (who were the best horse of the body,) the lord lieutenant should retire to Drumnah, being a quarter of greater strength than that of Rathmines was or could be made, and at such distance as might as well block up the enemy as the other, and from whence an uninterrupted communication might be had with that party which was left on the north side of the river; and upon this conclusion the lord Inchiquin departed towards Munster.

Inchiquin sent into Munster.

When it was known that the army was to retire, the officers and soldiers expressed much trouble, and seemed to believe the reducing of the town not to be a matter of that difficulty as was pretended: if they could hinder the rebels' horse from grazing in the meadows near the walls, which was the only place they were possessed of to that purpose, they could not be able to subsist five days; and it would

be in their power to take that benefit from them, if they possessed themselves of a castle called Baggatrath, very near adjoining to that pasture, which was already so strong, that in one night it might be sufficiently fortified: and this discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much credit, that the council of war entreated the marquis to decline his former resolution of retiring to Drumnah; general Preston, sir Arthur Aston, and major general Purcell, having viewed the place, and assuring the lord lieutenant that it might be possessed and sufficiently fortified in one night.

It is no wonder that in an army thus constituted and composed, the marquis thought not fit by his authority to restrain them from pursuing an enterprise of so much gallantry, and which had so much possibility of success; and indeed he still retained some hopes of advantage by the affections of the city; and that even in those last supplies that were sent over, there were many who laid hold of that opportunity to transport themselves for the advancement of the king's service, and with a purpose quickly to change their masters; so that he was contented to recede from his former resolution; and on the first of August, at night, sent a strong party to possess themselves of Baggatrath, and with such materials as were necessary to fortify it: and because he concluded that the enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of a design which would bring such irreparable damage to them, he gave strict order for drawing the whole army into battalia, and commanded that they should stand in arms all that night, himself continuing in

Attempt to take and fortify Baggatrath.

the field on horseback till morning. As soon as it was day he went to visit the place that was to be fortified, which he found not in that condition he expected: the officer excused himself by having been misguided in the night, so that it was very late before he arrived there; wherewith the marquis being unsatisfied, displaced the officer who commanded the party, and put another of good name and reputation into the charge, and appointed him to make his men work hard, since it appeared, that in four or five hours it might be so well fortified, that they need fear no attempt from the town: and that they might be sure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the army to remain in the same posture they had been all the night; and about nine of the clock, seeing no appearance of any sally from the town, which he had so long expected, he went to his tent to refresh himself with a little rest; which he had not obtained for the space of an hour, when he was awakened by an alarm from the enemy, and putting himself immediately on his horse, quickly found that his officers had not been so punctual in their duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their posts as soon as the marquis went to repose himself, (out of an unhappy confidence that the rebels would not adventure at that time of the day to make any sally;) so that a strong party out of the town, at ten of the clock in the morning, marched directly to Baggatrath, and with less opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dispersed the party that possessed it; who, finding their horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the place with all imaginable confusion, which encouraged the rebels (who were seconded immediately

The fatal battle of Rathmines.

by the whole power in Dublin) to advance further towards the army, (which they discerned to be in high disorder,) than at their coming out they intended.

The lord lieutenant used all means to put the horse in order, sending the lord Taaffe to command the foot; but sir William Vaughan, commissary general of the horse, being in the first charge killed, they who followed him were immediately routed: whereupon so general a consternation seized upon the spirits of all the rest, that the marquis could prevail with none to stand with him, but the regiment of his brother, colonel Butler, and colonel Grady, with which he charged the enemy; wherein colonel Grady being slain, and his brother sore wounded and taken prisoner, that body was likewise entirely broken; and from that time it was not in his power, by all the means he could use, to rally any part of horse, or to make them so much as to stand by him: so that when he was even environed with the enemy, and attended only with very few of his own servants, and two or three gentlemen, he was forced to make his way through them, and to quit the field; when that small body of foot which still kept their ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their horse, were compelled to surrender their arms to the rebels; the lord Taaffe making his own way so prosperously, that he got to the north side, where he found that body which had been left there in arms, and used all the possible endeavours he could to persuade them to attempt the recovery of what was lost, which in so great disorder of the enemy (as such success usually produces) had not

been reasonably to be despaired of: but the apprehensions and jealousies, the fright and terror, was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, nor do more (and that in confusion enough) than to provide for their own security.

This was the unhappy, and, indeed, fatal defeat of Rathmines, which was the first and only loss that ever fell upon any army or party of which the marquis had the name and title (and God knows he had here no more than the name) of the supreme commander, and these the whole circumstances of it; so that what fault, defect, or oversight of his contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, malice itself cannot suggest: and for the matter of itself, though it must be and is confessed, that many officers and soldiers of the army did not that day discharge their trust with diligence and integrity, or fight with any tolerable courage, and were on a sudden more confounded with fear and amazement, than was to be expected from the cause they were to defend, and from their own behaviour in former actions; yet the success on the rebels' side was in no degree wonderful, the advantage in number being theirs, they who sallied out of the town and were upon the field being effectively six thousand foot and one thousand nine hundred horse; and the army encamped at Rathmines were not near so strong in horse or foot, and therefore it is nothing strange, that so well governed and disciplined soldiers, under good officers, should overcome a less number of raw, new levied, and unpractised men, under unexperienced officers, though possessed of some advantage of ground; nor can the unfitness and unskilfulness of the officers be imputed to want

of care in the marquis; since they were not only such upon whose interest the men were raised and brought together, and so consequently had a kind of dependency upon them; but such as were recommended particularly to him by the general assembly: and how unsatisfied they were with all other officers than those who were recommended by themselves; and how violently they protested against them, of how great reputation soever they were for courage, conduct, and constant and unblemished integrity to the king's service, the ensuing discourse will sufficiently set forth and declare.

When the marquis found the consternation to be so great in his soldiers who fled away, that no considerable number could be got together to make any stand, though at some miles distance from the action, and that the other part of the army on Finglass side, who had seen no enemy, could but be contained from dispersing, he sent them orders to march to Trym and Drogheda, for the strengthening of those garrisons, which he believed Jones might, upon the pride of his late success, be inclined to attack; and himself went to Kilkenny, as the fittest rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and scattered forces, and from whence he might best give orders and directions for the making of new levies: and in his march thither, the very next day after the defeat at Rathmines, he made an halt with those few horse which he had rallied together, and summoned the strong fort of Ballysonan, which he had before blocked up by a party of horse and foot, and having found means to persuade the governor to believe that Dublin had been surrendered, and that his army was returning, he got that important place

After this defeat the lord lieutenant retires to Kilkenny.

Takes in Ballysonan in his march;

into his hands; without which stratagem, Jones would have pursued his conquest even to Kilkenny itself, which he had found in a very ill condition to defend itself; and in a whole week's time, after his coming to Kilkenny, he could draw together but three hundred horse, with which he found it necessary, just eight days after the defeat, to march in person to the relief of Drogheda, which, according to his expectation, was besieged by Jones, and defended by the lord Moore: upon the approach of the marquis no nearer than Trym, the siege was raised, and Jones returned to Dublin.

which prevents Jones's pursuit.

Obliges Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda.

His lordship entering Drogheda, whither he resolved to draw his army as soon as might be, issued out his orders accordingly, hoping in a short time, if no other misfortune intervened, to get a good body of men together, and to restrain those in Dublin from making any great advantage of their late victory. But he had been there very few days, when he received sure advertisement, that Cromwell was himself landed, with a great army of horse and foot, and with vast supplies of all kinds, at Dublin, where he arrived within less than a fortnight after the unfortunate defeat at Rathmines. The scene was now totally altered, and the war the lord lieutenant was to make could be only defensive, until the rebels should meet with a check in some enterprise, and his own men, by discipline and rest, and exercise of their arms, might again recover their spirits, and forget the fear they had contracted of the enemy: he took care therefore to repair the works and fortifications at Drogheda, (as well as in so short a time could be done,) and got as much provision into the town as was possible; and then, with the full ap-

Lord lieutenant receives advice of Cromwell's landing at Dublin.

Provides for the defence of Drogheda.

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probation of all the commissioners, he made choice of sir Arthur Aston, a catholic, and a soldier of great experience and reputation, to be governor thereof, and put a garrison into it of two thousand foot, and a good regiment of horse, all choice men and old soldiers, with very many gentlemen and officers of good name and account, and supplied it with ammunition and all other provisions, as well as the governor himself desired: and having done so, he marched with his horse, and the small remainder of his foot, to Trym and Kilkenny, whither he had sent to the lord Inchiquin to bring up as many men as he could out of Munster, (now the apprehension of Cromwell's landing there was over,) and endeavoured from all parts to recruit his army, hoping, before the rebels should be able to reduce any of his garrisons, to be able to take the field.

It was about the beginning of September when Cromwell marched out of Dublin, and with his whole army came before Drogheda: of which the lord lieutenant was no sooner advertised, than he came to Trym to watch all opportunities to infest his quarters; and having a full confidence in the courage and experience of sir Arthur Aston, and the goodness and number of the garrison, that the rebels would not be able to get the town by an assault. But here again he found his expectation disappointed: the rebels resolved not to lose their time in a siege, and therefore, as soon as their summons was rejected, they made a breach with their cannon, and stormed the place; and though they were for some time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, in the end they entered, and pursued their victory with so much cruelty, that they put the whole garrison to

Cromwell takes Drogheda by assault, and puts the garrison to the sword.

the sword, not sparing those, upon second thoughts, to whom in the heat of the action they promised and gave quarter: so that except some few, who, during the time of the assault, escaped at the other side of the town; and others, who, by mingling with the rebels as their own men, so disguised themselves that they were not discovered; there was not an officer, soldier, or religious person belonging to that garrison left alive; and all this within the space of nine days after the enemy appeared before the walls; and when very many were even glad that they were engaged before a place that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their further progress for that season of the year.

This, indeed, was a much greater blow than that of Rathmines, and totally destroyed and massacred a body of above two thousand men, with which, in respect of the experience and courage of the officers, and the goodness and fidelity of common men, the marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages.

He had not now left with him above seven hundred horse, and one thousand five hundred foot, whereof some were of suspected faith, and many new raised men; and though the lord Inchiquin was ready to march towards him with a good party of horse and foot, and the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes with the like number of Scots, yet he had neither money to give them one day's pay, nor provisions to keep them together for twenty-four hours; the commissioners were either dispersed, or their orders for collecting money not executed or regarded: and when, in these straits, the lord lieute-

nant issued out warrants himself for the raising men and money, they complained of his breach of the articles of the treaty, and talked among themselves of treating with the enemy; that which was most counsellable, and which wise men saw was fittest to be practised, was to have put all their men into garrisons, and thereby secured the most considerable places, and therewithal (the winter now approaching) to have prosecuted the levies, and, by good discipline and exercise of their men, recovered their spirits against the spring. But, alas! this was not at all in the marquis's power to do; he was restrained by the articles of the treaty from making any new garrisons, and from changing any old governors without the approbation of the commissioners; and he and the commissioners together had not credit and power enough with the chief cities and incorporate towns, which were most worth the keeping, and consequently most like to be attempted by the rebels, to force or persuade them to receive garrisons; so Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, the most considerable and best ports of the kingdom, declared they would admit no soldiers; nor, indeed, did they further obey any other orders which were sent to them, than they thought fit themselves.

If this fatal distemper and discomposure had not been discovered to be among them, it is not to be believed that Cromwell (what success soever he had met with) would have engaged his army, which, with being long at sea, change of air, and much duty, was much weakened, and had contracted great sickness in sieges, after the beginning of October: yet, being encouraged, and, in truth, drawn on, by the knowledge of this humour and obstinacy of the

Irish against all remedy which could preserve them, he marched with his army before Wexford, the citizens whereof appeared willing to make a defence; albeit they had too long neglected the means thereof, and were at last (when part of the rebels' army was lodged within half musket shot of their walls) content to receive an assistance of men from the lord lieutenant, which, upon the first intimation, his excellency hastened to them, of the choicest of those he had left, all catholics, (for that was still insisted upon,) under the command of his cousin sir Edmond Butler, a man confessedly worthy of a greater charge, who with some difficulty passed the river into that part of the town which the rebels' army could not invest: but he had not been in the town an hour, when captain Stafford (who was the governor of the castle, and whom the lord lieutenant would have removed from that charge, as not being equal to it, but because he was a catholic, and had exercised that charge during the time that the confederates were in arms against the king) gave up the place to Cromwell, and took conditions under him, and thereby gave entrance to him into the town; where all the soldiers were cruelly put to the sword, and sir Edmond Butler himself, endeavouring (when he discovered the treachery) to escape, was killed before he had been one hour in the town.

Cromwell besieges Wexford.

The place betrayed by the Irish governor of the castle.

The garrison basely murdered.

From this torrent of success and corruption, nobody will wonder that the rebels marched then without control, and took Rosse and some other places without any opposition: yet the marquis, out of too deep a sense of the stupidity, waywardness, and ingratitude of that people, for whose protection and defence he had embarked himself, his fortune, and

his honour; and whose jealousies and fond obstinacy made the work of their preservation more difficult and impossible than the powers of their enemies could do; desired nothing so much as an opportunity to fight the rebels, and either to give some check to their swollen fortune, or to perish in the action: and to that purpose drew all his friends to him, and sent for all the forces he could bring together from the provinces of Munster and Ulster.

From the time that the peace was concluded at Kilkenny, the lord lieutenant well discerned the mischief he should sustain by being to provide against the attempts of general Owen O'Neal, as well as against the English rebels, and that at least he could hope for no assistance from the Scots in Ulster as long as they feared him; and therefore he had sent Daniel O'Neal, nephew to the general, to persuade him to be included in the same peace: but he was so unsatisfied with the assembly, that he declared he would have nothing to do with them, nor be comprehended in any agreement they should make; but if the marquis would consent to some conditions he proposed, he would willingly submit to the king's authority in him. The marquis was content to grant him his own conditions, having indeed a great esteem of his conduct, and knowing the army under his command to be better disciplined than any other of the Irish. But the commissioners of trust would by no means consent to these conditions; and declared, if the lord lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an agreement, it would be a direct breach of the articles of peace: and thereupon Owen O'Neal made that conjunction with Monke, which was before remembered, and about the very time of

the defeat at Rathmines relieved sir Charles Coote in Londonderry; and thereby kept the king from being entirely possessed of the province of Ulster, which, but for that action, would have been able to have sent strong supplies of men and provisions to the assistance of the marquis: and it is enough known, that whilst the lord lieutenant was in any hopeful condition to prevail against the rebels, the commissioners of trust and the principal persons of interest had no mind to agree with general O'Neal, out of an animosity to his person and party, and in confidence that the work would be done without him; and others who were of his party had as little mind that he should be drawn to a conjunction with the marquis, because they knew, if he were once engaged under him, they should no more be able to seduce him to join with them in any action of sedition: and upon these reasons, the persons who were deputed by the commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have an interest in him, on the one side persuaded Owen O'Neal that the lord lieutenant had already broken the articles of peace, and that he could have no security that what should be promised should be performed to him; and on the other side informed the marquis, that he insisted on such extravagant propositions, that the commissioners of trust would never yield to them: but after the arrival of Cromwell, and his success against Drogheda, the commissioners of trust thought it high time to unite with him; and Owen O'Neal himself discerned how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the English rebels, who, notwithstanding the signal services performed by him to them,

had publicly disowned the agreement which their own officers had made with him; and thereupon, by the interposition again of Daniel O'Neal, all particulars were agreed between the lord lieutenant and him, with the consent of the commissioners of trust, about the time that Cromwell was before Wexford; insomuch that he promised within a few days to bring his army to join with the lord lieutenant, which (though himself lived not to execute it) was performed shortly after: so that about the time that Wexford was taken, he was not without hope, by the advantage of passes, and by cutting off his provisions, to have made Cromwell return to Dublin, very hardly without losing a good part of his army; when, on a sudden and together, all the considerable places in the province of Munster revolted to the rebels, and thereby gave them a safe retreat, and free passage, and necessary provisions of all that they wanted, and harbours for ships to bring all to them that they could desire. The lord Inchiquin being so totally betrayed by those officers whom he trusted most and had most obliged, that after he had in vain tried to reduce them by force, he could not, without much difficulty, obtain the liberty and redelivery of his wife and children to him, whom they had surprised in the city of Cork. This action, in this fatal conjuncture of time, when the straits Cromwell was in by the winter and want of provisions had raised the spirits of all men, and when they looked upon themselves as like to have at least some hopeful encounter with him, was not a loss or blow, but a dissolution of the whole frame of their hopes and designs; and introduced a spirit of jea-

The lord lieutenant treats with O'Neal.

The towns in Munster revolt to the English rebels.

lousy and animosity into the army, which no dexterity or interest of the lord lieutenant could extinguish or allay.

From the first hour of the peace, the English and Irish had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the marquis much trouble; and they were rather incorporated by their obedience and submission to the authority and pleasure of their supreme commanders, than united by the same inclinations and affections to any public end; insomuch, as before the defeat of Rathmines there were many among the Irish who much feared the swift success of the army, and apprehended the lord lieutenant's speedy reducing of Dublin would give him much power, and make him more absolute than they desired to see him, and therefore were nothing sorry for that misfortune: on the other hand, the English were troubled to see the authority and jurisdiction of the marquis so restrained and limited by the articles, and that the army was neither recruited, disciplined, nor provided for as it ought to be, solely by his want of power, and they had a very low opinion of the spirit and courage of the Irish: but now, upon this defection in Munster, there was a determination of all confidence and trust in each other: the Irish declaring that they suspected all the English nation, and made the treachery of those who so infamously had betrayed their trust, an unreasonable argument for their jealousy of those who remained in the army; who, being a handful of gallant men, and of most unshaken fidelity to the king, were indeed, in respect of their courage and experience in war, the party to be principally depended upon in

any action or encounter, and of which only the enemy had had any apprehension.

Though the season of the year (for it was now towards the end of November) and the sickness that was in the rebels' army made it high time for them to betake themselves to their winter quarters, and such was their resolution; yet Cromwell being well informed of this present distemper amongst those who made up the whole strength the lord lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing that the clergy had the full dominion in all the incorporate towns and places of importance, and would keep the people from submitting to those expedients which could only preserve them, he resolved to make one attempt more; and so marched with his army, consisting of about two thousand horse and near five thousand foot, towards Waterford. This was the time when he encamped near Thomastown, within the distance of two or three miles of the marquis; and with which they have since reproached him, in some printed discourses, as an opportunity he voluntarily omitted and declined, when he might have fought with the rebels upon an advantage of ground, and an equality of numbers: whereas the truth is known to be, that (notwithstanding the jealousy and discomposure of the humours in his army, being upon the time of the defection in Munster, and inequality in the numbers and quality of the men; for the rebels had near double the number of horse, and were superior in foot) the marquis had a resolution to give battle to them, conceiving that these disadvantages and extreme hazards were reasonably to be preferred to those which he foresaw he should be

Cromwell marches towards Wexford.

forced to undergo without fighting: but the very morning before they drew up in battalia near Thomastown, upon the information of several persons, who pretended to have seen the enemy march towards Kilkenny, which was within the same distance of the place where they were encamped, or nearer than to that where he was; and the garrison being drawn out thence, to strengthen the army for the encounter they expected, the marquis marched with all the horse, with as much speed as might be, to put himself between the town and the rebels, and so was absent when they discovered them to be drawn up on the hill: and if he had been there, there was a river between them, which (if he would have fought) he must have passed by a bridge, where more than three could not have marched abreast, up an hill, upon the steep rising whereof the rebels had planted themselves in order of battle; so that, if all other considerations had been away, he could never have thought it reasonable to have engaged his army upon so manifest a disadvantage.

Why the marquis did not fight Cromwell's army.

From hence Cromwell marched to Waterford, knowing well enough that the marquis could not keep the small body he had together two days; which was very true; for having not money enough to give them half a week's pay, nor provision to serve them four and twenty hours, he was compelled to suffer the greater part of them to go to their quarters: however he was resolved not to leave Waterford to the enemy, though they had so obstinately and disobediently refused to receive a garrison, which would have prevented their present pressure; whereas they were now closely besieged to their walls on all that side of the town which lay to Munster, the

Cromwell marches to besiege Waterford.

Lord lieutenant forced to disband his army, but provides for the defence of Waterford.

other being open, to be relieved by the river of Suire, which there severs Leinster from Munster, and washes the walls of the town on that side. The inhabitants, seeing destruction at their doors, abated so much of their former madness, as to be willing to receive a supply of soldiers, yet under a condition, that they might be all of the old Irish of Ulster, who, under the command of Owen O'Neal, had longest opposed the king's authority, (and were now newly joined with the marquis;) and in express terms refused to receive any of their own neighbours and kindred, the confederate Irish catholics of Munster or Leinster, to the great offence and scandal of that part of the nation, which had been as zealous for their religion as any. However, since there was no other way to preserve them, the lord lieutenant was content to comply even with that humour, and so choosing a strong party of near fifteen hundred men, and putting them under the command of lieutenant general Farrell, who was the most acceptable to them, his excellency himself marched with them, and put them into the town; which he had no sooner done, than Cromwell found it convenient to raise his siege; and shortly after betook himself to his winter-quarters.

Cromwell obliged to raise the siege.

It was the month of December, and a season, with frost and snow, as uneasy as that time of the year, in that cold country, hath at any time produced: yet the marquis having left the town, as he thought, full of the sense of the late benefit and preservation which they had received from him, and designing to employ this time both in fortifying Waterford, and providing it better to resist the enemy, before they should be able to make another attempt upon it, and

likewise in reducing Rosse and Wexford, and all other places which the rebels had taken, and left but weakly manned and provided, he drew his forces together, and leaving them on the other side of the river Shure, himself, with a train only of forty or fifty horse, consisting of his friends and servants, went into the town, presuming that he should be able to persuade them to submit to and join in whatsoever should manifestly appear to be for their own benefit and advantage. When he came into the town, he found lieutenant general Farrell engaged in a design to take Passage, a place seized on by Cromwell, after he had retired from Waterford, and which was an inconvenient neighbour to that city: colonel Wogan, who had been seasonably sent by the marquis into Duncannon, (even when the first governor placed there by the confederate catholics was ready to deliver it up to the rebels,) and who had with notable courage defended it against Cromwell, and in the end, after the loss of a great number of his men, compelled him to retire, had agreed to meet lieutenant general Farrell at a place and house appointed, and together to fall upon Passage. Though the marquis had not been informed of the form and contrivance of the design, yet he knew well enough what interpretation would be made if his interposition, or command, or wariness should divert it: he was therefore very willing that it should proceed, the matter, if well laid, and carried with secrecy, being hopeful enough. Lieutenant general Farrell had not been marched from the town many hours, when the marquis discovered, from some place of prospect in the town, a strong party of horse marching in good order, the way that

Design upon Passage.

led to Passage; which belonging to the rebels, made him conclude that they had notice of the design: whereupon he presently sent for the mayor of the town, and shewing him the inevitable danger their whole party was in, which was the only strength against any enterprise of the enemy, (if they were not instantly relieved,) required him presently to send some boats over to the other side of the river, for the transporting a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would himself endeavour to rescue them.

How apparent soever the danger and mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the remedy, all the commands and entreaties he could use, could not prevail to get one boat, nor their consent that any of his horse should be suffered to march through the town, without which they could not go to their relief. When he had in vain tried all ways to convince and persuade them, he caused all his own friends and servants (which, as was said before, amounted not to above forty or fifty) to mount their horses, and with all imaginable haste led them himself towards Passage, that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent, the loss that was like to ensue. When he came within sight of the town, he could discern a party of foot marching with great haste and disorder towards him, being pursued by the rebels' horse, who had even overtaken them, having fallen upon the remainder, and either killed them upon the place, or taken them prisoners. Though the company that attended the marquis was too few to encounter the rebels with any considerable hope, yet he drew them up in that manner on the side of a hill, that the enemy,

The marquis relieves Farrell, and stops the pursuit of the rebels with a very small party.

imagining their numbers to be more considerable, thought fit to lessen their pace, and to send a small party to discover; which being again entertained by the like number in light skirmishes, the foot as much improving their march, they were in the end, by the marquis's frequent exposing his own person to retard the rebels' pursuit, preserved: and so he brought back with him into the town about half those which had marched thence, and which had been infallibly destroyed if he had not taken even that desperate course to redeem them; as he might as surely have recovered all the others who were made prisoners, and defeated all that body of the rebels, and consequently taken Passage, if the city would have permitted his horse to have been transported over the river, and to have marched through it.

Unseasonable obstinacy of the citizens of Waterford.

The marquis was, by this last experiment, sufficiently convinced how impossible it would be to persuade the town (which was entirely governed by the clergy) to suffer any part of his army to enter into it, which, in many respects, and especially for finishing their works and fortifications, had been very necessary; on the other side, without the countenance and security of the town, and bringing his army over the river, it was as impossible to prosecute his design for the reduction of Passage, and those places mentioned before. He desired therefore no more of them, than that they would be content that his army might for a little time be hutted under their walls; where they should receive their provisions and pay duly out of the country, and so should be a security and benefit to the town, without the least damage in any degree. But this pro-

The lord lieutenant's designs obstructed by the influence of the popish clergy.

position found no more regard than the former; and, instead of consulting with what circumstances to comply with so just and necessary a demand of the king's lieutenant, it was proposed, in the council of the town, to seize on his person, and to fall on all that belonged to him, as enemies; which advice met with no other reprehension, than that for the present the major part did not consent to it. Of all which, when the marquis was fully informed, he thought it time to depart from thence, and to leave them to their own imaginations; and so marched away with his army, which, after this indignity, it was a thing impossible to keep together, all the troops removing to those quarters where there was some means for their subsistence: himself went to his castle at Kilkenny, from whence he despatched an account to the king, (who was then in his island of Jersey,) of the true state of his affairs in that kingdom; by which his majesty might see how much his rebels, who disclaimed any subjection to him, prevailed against his authority, and how it was equally contemned, and deluded, or disregarded by his subjects, who made all profession of obedience and duty to him; which was a method those ill times had made his majesty too well acquainted with: and from this time (which was in the month of December, 1649) the marquis never did nor ever could draw together into one body the number of five hundred men: what endeavours he used to do it, will be mentioned in order hereafter.

His army separates.

As soon as the lord lieutenant came to Kilkenny, he consulted with the commissioners of trust, (without whose approbation and consent he could do no act that was of importance,) what remedies to apply

Lord lieutenant expostulates with the commissioners of trust.

to the strange disorder and confusion which spread itself over their affairs. They had still been present witnesses of all his actions, of his unwearied pains and industry, and of the little fruit that was reaped by it; how his orders and commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobeyed in all those particulars, without which an army could not be brought or kept together; how those places which the rebels had possessed themselves of had been, for the most part, lost by their own obstinate refusal to receive such assistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their preservation; and yet they had raised most unreasonable imputations and reproaches on him, as if he had failed in their defence and relief: they had seen the wonderful and even insupportable wants and necessities the army had always undergone, and knew well how all warrants had been disobeyed, for the bringing in of money or provisions for the supply thereof; and yet their country was full of clamour and discontent for the payment of taxes, and being exhausted with contributions, he desired them therefore to examine where any misdemeanors had in truth been, that they might be punished; and from whence the scandals and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be informed and composed. The commissioners had, for the most part, very diligently and faithfully intended the service from the beginning, according to the trust reposed in them; yet there were some among them too able and dexterous in business, who always maligned the person of the marquis, or rather his religion, and the authority he represented; and, what professions soever they made

of respect to him, still maintained a close intelligence and correspondence with those of the clergy, who were most disaffected to his majesty's interest, and who, from the misfortune at Rathmines, had underhand fomented and cherished all the ill humours and jealousies of the people.

Commissioners' advice to the marquis.

The commissioners advised the marquis, as the best expedient to satisfy the country, that orders might be sent to them to elect some few persons among themselves, to send to Kilkenny as agents, to represent those grievances which were most heavy on them, and to offer any desires that might promote their security; alleging, that they could by this means be clearly informed how groundless their jealousies were, and the artifices would be discovered which had been used to corrupt their affections. Though the marquis well knew how tedious and inconvenient this course might prove, and rather advance all the scandalous and seditious designs than suppress them; yet he foresaw as well, that if it were declined by him, he should be unavoidably reproached with not being willing to be informed of the just grievances of the people, and consequently not to remedy them; and therefore, without giving countenance to any such irregular conventions by any formal summons of his own, he gave way that the commissioners should write their letters to that purpose: and accordingly agents did come thither from several counties, to communicate and present their complaints and desires together in January following; and the lord lieutenant received them with good countenance, and wished them freely to consult together, and as soon as they could,

Agents from the countries to represent pretended grievances.

to present whatever they had to say to him; to which they should be sure to receive a speedy answer.

In the mean time, the bishops and clergy of themselves, and without any authority received or desired from the lord lieutenant, assembled at Clanmacnois, upon the river of Shannon; upon whose counsels and conclusions all men's eyes were more fixed than upon what the agents should represent at Kilkenny; it being very evident that, notwithstanding almost all the whole catholic nobility of the kingdom, and all the principal persons of quality and interest, heartily concurred with the marquis; and the commissioners of trust, for the most part, were as zealous for the execution and observation of the articles of peace, and that the same might be rendered useful to the nation; yet the clergy and religious persons had found means to obstruct that union, which was necessary for the carrying on the work, and especially had that influence upon the corporate towns, that no garrison should be received there, or such submission paid to the lord lieutenant's or the commissioners' orders, as was essential to their own defence, and to the making war against the rebels; so that all men were in suspense what would be the issue of that meeting: and it cannot be denied, but that those bishops and that part of the clergy which were best affected, and knew the ways that were most conducing to the happiness of their country, prevailed so far, that the conclusions which were then made were full of respect to the king's service, and of wholesome advice and counsel to the people: they declared, "how vain a thing it "was to imagine that there could be any security

Assembly of the Irish clergy.

Their pernicious influence on the people.

" for the exercise of their religion, for the enjoy-
" ment of their fortunes, or for the preservation of
" their lives, by any treaty with, or promise from
" the English rebels; that they abhorred all the
" factions, animosities, and divisions, which raged
" among themselves, to the hinderance of the public
" service; and therefore enjoined all the clergy, of
" what quality soever, and ecclesiastical persons, by
" preaching, and all other ways, to incline the peo-
" ple to an union of affections, and to the laying
" aside all jealousies of each other, and unanimously
" to concur in the opposing the common enemy, and
" appointed the bishops and other superiors to pro-
" ceed with great severity against those religious
" and spiritual persons, who should underhand che-
" rish and foment those jealousies and divisions:"
in a word, they said so much and so well, that when the lord lieutenant was informed of it, and saw the extract of their determinations, he conceived some hope that it might indeed make some good impression on the people, and produce very good effects.

The agents from the country spent some time at Kilkenny in preparing the heads of such grievances as they thought fit to present to the lord lieutenant, who called still upon them to despatch; but upon conference with the gravest of the commissioners, they found how groundless all those slanders were, which they had believed before they came thither, and so could not agree upon any particulars to complain of: besides, they met with some disturbance there. Cromwell, well knowing how the small forces were scattered abroad, marched with a strong party towards the town; with which the agents were so alarmed, that they would no longer stay

Complaints of grievances found to be groundless.

there, but desired the marquis to let them adjourn to Ennis, in the county of Clare; which they did: and though they met there, yet they never agreed on the draught of any grievances to be presented, though they made that ill use of their meeting to propagate the scandals and imputations which had been groundlessly raised, and to inflame the people by the same untruths. Notwithstanding this alarm and danger the lord lieutenant's person and the town were really in, all the power and authority he had could not, in ten days, draw five hundred men together to resist the enemy; however, the townsmen appeared so ready and prepared for their defence, and the marquis putting all his own friends and servants on horseback, with which he made a troop of about an hundred, looked with so good a countenance upon the enemy, that he retired: and shortly after, the lord lieutenant committed the charge of the place and the country adjacent to the earl of Castlehaven, and went himself upon a more important business to Limerick.

The lord lieutenant with an inconsiderable force obliges Cromwell to draw off from Kilkenny.

Though the rebels (by the faction and obstinacy of the people, who could not hitherto be induced to make a reasonable provision for defence) had prevailed very far, and possessed themselves of many good places without any considerable opposition, yet there remained a good part of the kingdom free from their power; the whole province of Connaught was still entire, and the cities of Limerick and Galway in the possession of the catholics; which might be made so strong as not to fear any strength the rebels could bring before them, and are so situated for all advantages of the sea, that they might, being well supplied, maintain a war against the whole

The progress of the English rebels owing to the divisions among the Irish.

kingdom: there were men enough, so that there wanted only order and resolution to preserve themselves. The marquis resolved to begin with Limerick; and if he could dispose that city to a full obedience, and to receive a garrison, he made no question, not only to fortify it against any attempt of the enemy, but, under the countenance of it, and by the security of the river of Shannon, to quarter his troops, raise contribution for their support, discipline his men, and in effect, by the spring, so to recruit his army, that he might give battle to the rebels wherever he should engage: and to this purpose he went himself thither from Kilkenny, in the month of January, hoping that the good resolution of the bishops at Clanmacnois had well prepared the people to comply with him. But when he came thither, albeit he was received with outward demonstrations of respect, he found the temper not such as he desired. Whatever the bishops had declared, the clergy had observed none of those directions, nor were any in so much credit as they who behaved themselves quite contrary to those determinations; and if no way could be found out to allay this spirit, all his endeavours, he saw, would be without any fruit: whereupon he resolved to try whether that part of the clergy which wished well to the kingdom, could use as efficacious means to preserve it, as the others, who desired confusion, did to destroy it; and upon advice with the principal persons of the catholic nobility, and with the commissioners of trust, he did, about the end of February, by letters, desire as many of the catholic bishops as were within any convenient distance, to meet him at Limerick, which they accordingly did.

Lord lieutenant endeavours to preserve Limerick.

When they came thither, he conferred with them, in the presence of the commissioners of trust, with all frankness, upon the distracted and disjointed state of affairs, and freely told them, "that without "the people might be brought to have a full confi- "dence in him, and yield a perfect obedience to "him, and without the city of Limerick might be "persuaded to receive a garrison and obey his or- "ders, it was not to be hoped that he could be able "to do any thing considerable against the rebels: "he desired them therefore, if they had a mistrust "of him, or dislike of his government, that they "would as clearly let him know it; assuring them, "that such was his desire of the people's preserva- "tion, that there was nothing in his power, con- "sistent with his duty to the king, and agreeable "with his honour, that he would not do at their de- "sire for that end;" withal letting them see, "that "his continuance with the name, and not with the "power of lord lieutenant, could bring nothing but "ruin upon the nation, as well as dishonour upon "him: so that he propounded unto them in plain "terms, either that they would procure a due obe- "dience to be yielded unto him, or propose some "other way, by his quitting the kingdom, how it "might be preserved." Conference with the commissioners of trust.

After consultation together, they returned with many expressions of respect and affection to his person, and faithfully promised to endeavour the procuring all that obedience he desired; withal, presenting unto him a paper of advice, which contained, as they said, certain remedies for removing the discontents and disgusts of the people, and for the advancing his majesty's service: amongst which

they proposed, "that a privy council might be "framed of the peers and other the natives of the "kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, to sit daily "with him, and determine all the weighty affairs of "the country by their counsel;" and many other particulars concerning the raising of men and conducting the war; to every one of which the marquis gave them an answer in writing: amongst which he told them, "that he could not understand how "the present distresses of the kingdom could pro-"ceed from the want of a privy council, nor how "the framing such a council could advantage the "management of the war, which by the articles of "the peace was to be done by the commissioners of "trust, with whom he did always communicate all "matters of importance; and therefore he could "not think fit unnecessarily to presume upon do-"ing a thing for which he had neither power nor "precedent, the nomination of all persons to be of "the privy council being always reserved by the "king to himself;" yet, rather than there should be wanting any thing that was in his power to satisfy the people in, he wished "that the particular "acts which the privy council had heretofore done, "and were now necessary to be done, might be in-"stanced; and so far forth as should appear neces-"sary and fit, he would qualify persons free from "just exceptions with such powers:" and so answered all their propositions, that they seemed to be well satisfied therewith; and thereupon published a declaration, in which they professed, "that they did "and would endeavour to root out of men's hearts "all jealousies and sinister opinions, conceived either "against his excellency, or the present govern-

" ment:" and they entreated him " to give them " further instructions;" declaring, " that they were " not deterred by the want of expected good suc- " cess in the affairs of the kingdom, but rather ani- " mated to give further onsets, and to try all other " possible ways:" and did faithfully promise, " that " no industry or care should be wanting in them to " receive and execute his directions."

When the marquis first proposed to the commissioners of trust that Limerick and other places might be garrisoned and fortified, he offered them the names of three persons of the Roman catholic religion, and of eminent quality, reputation, and fortunes, that out of them they might choose one for the command of Limerick; but resolving afterwards to call this assembly of the bishops thither, and to be there himself in person, he deferred the proceeding further in it till then, that with their own advice such a person might be chosen for that important charge, as should be beyond any possibility of a just exception from that corporation. Now he took all the imaginary pains, and descended to all the arts of persuasion, to satisfy those of the city, who he perceived were the most leading men, of the necessity of their speedy receiving a governor and a garrison, for the preservation of their own interest, and whatsoever could be of value with any people: but he was so far from prevailing with them, that they performed not those outward civilities and respects to him, which had been in no other place denied. The officer who commanded the city guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted them to him. No officer of the army or other person could, without special leave from the mayor, (which

Ingratitude of the Irish to the lord lieutenant.

was often very hardly obtained,) be admitted to come to his presence, to receive his commands and directions for resisting and opposing the rebels, who at that very time prevailed in the very county of Limerick itself; and to publish yet more the contempt they had of the king's authority, they committed to prison the viscount Killmallock, a catholic peer of the realm, and an officer of the army, (the lord lieutenant himself being upon the place,) for no other reason than for quartering for one night some few horse under his command, by the marquis's own orders, within the liberties of that city.

All this being done so contrary to the injunctions which the bishops had published for the direction of the people, and at a time when they were assembled there, and when he despaired of persuading them to what so absolutely concerned their proper safety, the marquis believed it would not be agreeable to the honour of his master to remain any longer in a place, where such affronts and contempts were put upon his authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good effects from the observation and discretion of the bishops, who could not but discern what ruin must immediately attend such licence and disobedience, he appointed all the said bishops, and as many more as could be persuaded to come thither, and the commissioners, to meet him some few days after at Loghreah, where about the 19th of March they attended accordingly.

Representation of the lord lieutenant to the Irish.

When they appeared again at Loghreah, the marquis represented to their memories, "what they be-"fore had been themselves witnesses of, and ob-"served at Limerick, and the neglects he had borne "there; and desired them to remove these cause-

" less distrusts, which (being maliciously infused " into the people's minds) did slacken, if not wholly " withdraw their obedience from his majesty's au- " thority; wished them to consider how impossible " it was for him, with honour, or any hope of suc- " cess, to contend against a powerful, absolutely " obeyed, and plentifully supplied enemy; himself " being under such domestic disadvantages of dis- " trusts and disobedience:" and concluded, " that " if the consequence of the service could not induce " them to be all of one mind in putting a garrison " into Limerick, or if (being of one mind) they could " not induce the city to obedience and submission " to such their determination, he could no longer " entertain a hope of giving any check to the suc- " cess of the enemy, and would thereupon consider " how otherwise to dispose of himself."

Both the bishops and the commissioners were really (or at least seemed) so entirely convinced of the necessity of erecting that garrison, and of putting that city into a better posture of defence than at that time it appeared to be in, that the commissioners, in whom that trust was reposed by the articles of the peace, ordered it to be done; and sent two of their members with their order to Limerick, and with a letter to the mayor to conform thereunto; and the bishops wrote to the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Limerick, both then at Limerick, desiring them " to use their utmost en- " deavours to incline the city to submit to the di- " rections of the lord lieutenant, and the commis- " sioners:" and having done this, they departed to those places they thought fit, to dispose the people (as they professed) to all acts of conformity and obe-

dience. But the commissioners in a short time returned from Limerick, without having in any degree prevailed with them to receive either a governor or garrison, or to conform themselves to any orders that the lord lieutenant or the commissioners should send to them, otherwise than as they agreed with their own inclinations: instead of making choice of any one of those three who were nominated to them for their governor, all of the Roman catholic religion, of very considerable interest in the kingdom, and of great reputation, they upon the matter declared that they would keep that power in their own hands; and for the receiving of a garrison, they proposed some particulars, what men of the Irish catholics they would receive, and what they would not; what course should be taken for the support of them, and through what hands it should pass; and many other things directly contrary to the articles of the peace which had been with solemnity proclaimed in that city, and to which they had professed all submission.

Fatal jealousies of the Irish.

All this perverseness, obstinacy, and ingratitude, could not yet extinguish the affection and compassion which the marquis had towards them; and he clearly discerned that it proceeded not from a spirit that was enclosed and confined within those walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other places: he was well enough satisfied that they, who were most passionately possessed with it, had no correspondence with the English rebels, nor had a mind to be subjected to their power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancied and imagined some expedient to themselves for their own preservation, which could not fall

Lord lieutenant perseveres in his loyal endeavours.

within his comprehension; and that they might have contracted some prejudice to his person, or to his religion, which might keep them from such an union and confidence as they might be reduced to under some catholic, who might be as zealous to preserve his majesty's interest, and to recover the kingdom to his obedience; and he was the more confirmed in this apprehension, by revolving the several passages which had happened at his being at Limerick, during the time that they seemed to pay him much respect: the lord Inchiquin had been then with him, towards whom they had observed the marquis had a great confidence and friendship, (as he well deserved;) some principal persons of the city, and with them some of the bishops, had, under the show of great confidence and trust, repaired to the lord lieutenant, and declared to him, that all that indisposition and waywardness in the people proceeded from the prejudice they had against the lord Inchiquin, who had always, they said, prosecuted the war against them with the most rigour and animosity; and those places and persons who had been most at his devotion having treacherously revolted to the rebels, the people were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great an interest in the marquis; so that if he would dismiss that lord, and discharge the troops which yet remained under his command, (and of which some frequently ran away to the rebels,) not only that city, but the whole nation would, as one man, be at his disposal.

Foolish policy of the Irish.

Whilst these insinuations were thus devised to the lord lieutenant, other persons (and those as leading men with an equal number of the bishops) applied themselves to the lord Inchiquin, and told him,

" that whilst the affairs were conducted by the mar-
" quis of Ormond, they expected no good fortune;
" that they looked upon him as not of their nation,
" and one so solicitous for the English interest, and
" for all Englishmen, that he was nothing regardful
" of theirs; that his lordship was of the most ancient
" extraction of Ireland, and under that notion looked
" upon with great affection and reverence by the
" Irish; and if the government and command were
" exercised by him, there would be such an obedi-
" ence paid to him, that he would in a short time
" grow strong enough to oppose the enemy, and to
" recover his country." When these two lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent address that had been made to them, and agreed together how to draw on and encourage the proposers, that they might discover as much of their purposes as was possible, they easily found their design was to be rid of them both; and when they perceived, by the continuance of the same friendship, that they had communicated with each other, they less dissembled towards both, but proceeded with those disrespects which are mentioned before.

The marquis having sadly reconsidered all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that he could possibly imagine might tend in any degree to the recovery or preservation of the kingdom, he appointed a second meeting to be at Loghreah, and summoned thither all the catholic bishops, as many of the nobility as could with any security come thither, the chief gentlemen of quality of the parts adjacent, and the principal officers of the army; and being met together, he gave them, in the first

place, an answer in writing to the grievances which had been presented to him at the former meeting, in which he made it evident, "how much they were "mistaken in much of the matters of fact: that what "was really amiss proceeded entirely from themselves, and their not observing the orders and "rules they were bound by; and could not be prevented by him, who consented to all the good and "practicable ways proposed by themselves for remedying the like for the future. He remembered "them of the pains he had taken, of the propositions he had made, of the orders he had given, "and of the neglects, disobedience, and affronts he "had received; by which alone the rebels had made "that progress in their success. He shewed them "a letter he had lately received from his master the "king, bearing date the second of February, from "Jersey, in answer to one he had written to his "majesty in December, to give him an account of "the ill state of the kingdom, and the carriage of "the city of Waterford, then newly, to him," which is set down at large before; upon perusal whereof his majesty had in this letter signified his pleasure to him, "that in case of the continuance of that disobedience in the people, and contempt of his authority, his lieutenant should withdraw himself "and his majesty's authority out of the kingdom: "he told them, that having received so little effect "of all the pains he had taken, and so ill returns "for all the affection he had shewed to them, he "was resolved to make use speedily of the liberty "the king had given him, as to his own person, "which, he found, was rendered so unacceptable to "the people; yet if they could propose to him any

Lord lieutenant's answer to the Irish pretended grievances.

He resolves to leave Ireland.

" way how he might deposit the king's authority, in " such a manner as it might not be exposed to the " same affronts it had received in him, and might " be applied to preserving the people, and recover- " ing the kingdom, he would gladly gratify them; " and would heartily wish, that they might receive " that happiness by his absence, which they would " not receive by his presence;" and to that purpose, " desired them to consult seriously and maturely " among themselves."

The Irish, concerned at this resolution, address the lord lieutenant.

Upon this, all the bishops, nobility, and commissioners of trust, with the principal gentlemen, expressed very much trouble at the resolution the marquis had taken; and, on the last day of April, in the year 1650, made an address to him in writing, under their several hands, in which, among other things, they told him, "that they conceived them- " selves in duty bound, for his better information of " the inclinations of the nation, humbly to present " to him, that, however his excellency might not " have met a ready concurrence to some proposals " made for the advancement of his majesty's service, " occasioned by some misunderstanding in some few " persons and places, yet the country generally, and " the nation in it, as they had already, by the ex- " pending their substance in an extraordinary mea- " sure, and their lives upon all occasions, abundantly " testified their sincere and immoveable affections " to preserve his majesty's rights and interest entire " unto him, so they would for the future, and with " the like cheerfulness, endeavour to overcome all the " difficulties which the enemy's power and success " had laid in their way; and that they who were " then met (and they doubted not but the same was

" the general sense of the whole nation) would, with " all care and earnestness, endeavour, not only to " conserve in the people such their good inclination, " but if any persons or places should be refractory, " or decline that obedience which is due to his ma- " jesty's authority, they would contribute their best " endeavours to reduce them, and to make them " conformable unto the same;" and, after many other specious professions and protestations of their zeal to obey his excellency, they humbly besought him, " to appoint commanders in the several pro- " vinces, to whom those of his majesty's subjects " (who, by the excitements of the clergy, were ready, " with alacrity, to undergo that care, should be en- " couraged to take arms) might repair for the oppos- " ing the power of the rebels."

How respective soever this address was, and how solemnly soever it was presented, the lord lieutenant was resolved not to be longer satisfied with those general declarations of their good designs and purposes; and therefore the very next day he sent them a letter, containing what he would expect from them, the which, for the more clear manifestation of the whole proceeding, shall be here faithfully inserted, and was in these words.

The lord lieutenant's letter to the assembly at Loghreah.

" After our hearty commendations, in answer to " your letter of the last of April, we think fit to put " you in mind, that upon communicating to you his " majesty's letter of the second of February, we then " acquainted you at large with what had passed at " Waterford, which, being by us represented to his " majesty, occasioned his sending the said letter; as " also, that we found the city of Limerick had taken

" example thereby to affront and contemn his ma-
" jesty's authority placed in us, and from us, by the
" consent of the representative of the confederate
" catholics, at the conclusion of the peace derived to
" the commissioners; both which you pass over, with
" an extenuation of those disobediences, and (by at-
" tributing them to some misunderstanding) you seem,
" in a manner, to excuse them: whereas we had rea-
" son to expect, that (suitable to your general pro-
" fessions) you would have resented the particular
" deportment of those places, and proposed to us
" how the contrivers thereof might be brought to
" justice, and reduced to perfect obedience: for as
" your professions of care and earnestness to endea-
" vour, not only to conserve in the people the good
" inclinations you find in them, but that if any per-
" son or place should be refractory, or decline that
" perfect obedience due to his majesty's authority,
" you will contribute your best endeavours to reduce
" them, and make them conformable to the same,
" cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but
" by applying those endeavours, where we give you
" particular undeniable instances of refractoriness and
" disobedience; so there can be no instance thereof
" more pregnant, or (if it be persisted in) more de-
" structive to his majesty and the nation, than that
" of Limerick; to the immediate reducing whereof,
" we therefore thought, and do now expect, you
" would effectually apply yourselves. We are well
" satisfied that the generality of the country and na-
" tion, who have given the proofs you mention, of
" their sincere affections to preserve his majesty's
" rights entire to him, will persevere therein, if those
" upon whose examples and advice they very much

" fix their resolutions, be active and industrious to
" lead and exhort them thereunto: but we must
" withal let you know, that we cannot hope that
" those good affections and alacrities, in defence of
" his majesty and their own interest, can be success-
" ful, if the city of Limerick, and all other cities
" and towns be not in perfect obedience, and imme-
" diately put under a military government, for mili-
" tary matters, and thereby into a condition of de-
" fence and offence; which to conceal from the peo-
" ple, were towards them as great a treachery, as
" it would be in us a vain rashness, without a just
" obedience first gained, to attempt the opposing
" the strength and power of the rebels. And there-
" fore we must and do declare, that as the parti-
" cular refractoriness of the city of Waterford hath,
" more than any human means, contributed to all
" the successes of the rebels in those parts, since our
" being at Waterford; and as the want of a strong
" garrison in Limerick, (which we long since desired
" might be put there, but could not prevail,) have
" been the greatest visible means whereby the said
" rebels have, with small or no resistance, gained or
" destroyed the county of Limerick, and other parts
" adjacent; so the entire loss of the kingdom to his
" majesty, and the destruction of the nation, (which
" we have no hope to prevent, but by presently and
" strongly garrisoning and fortifying the said city,)
" must be imputed to the obstinacy of that city,
" if it shall persist therein, and to whoever encou-
" rages or connives with them therein. As to the
" distrusts and jealousies of the people, occasioned
" (as you say) for want of success in service, the
" sense of their sufferings, and their apprehensions

" for want of redress of their grievances, we answer, " that both the want of success, and the sense of " their sufferings, whether from the enemy or from " the soldier, cannot so reasonably be imputed to " any human cause, as to the want of garrisoning " the army in the principal towns and cities; where- " in we cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by " the enemy's lying at one end of a town, we were " (not without articling and conditioning) permitted " to put such men as we could then get, in at " another end; for, for want of garrisoning the " army, and by being forced to quarter it at large, " it was not possible to have them exercised, their " arms kept in order, nor they under necessary dis- " cipline; which (when they were to be brought to- " gether) rendered them worse than so many new " raised men, by how much they had contracted a " licentious liberty, and an habit of rapine and dis- " obedience: nor could we prevent fraud in musters, " or reasonably exact a strict account from the offi- " cers, of men so scattered, who, when they should " be employed upon service, were forced, or pre- " tended a necessity, (wherein we could not disprove " them,) to range the country to get in the means " that should enable them to serve.

" As to their apprehension for want of redress of " their grievances: we understand not what griev- " ances are thereby meant, unless those delivered " unto[n] us by the archbishop of Tuam, on the first day " of April: for the other grievances, though we long " expected and desired them, we never saw any, " save a paper given to us on the 12th of March, at

[n] Here lord Clarendon's MS. ends, and that of his secretary commences.

" Limerick; which, for the forgery, calumny, and
" other misbecoming passages contained in it, was,
" as such, disowned by the clergy then met: and to
" those given us on the first of April, we return you
" herewith such answers, as (considering the gene-
" rality of them) is possible for us to give.

" We have already, with the advice of the com-
" missioners, and (as we believe) with the approba-
" tion of such of the bishops as were present, ap-
" pointed the earl of Castlehaven to command the
" forces in Leinster: and with the like advice and
" approbation, we have employed colonel David Roche
" to command, for a necessary expedition; besides,
" there is always upon the place there, one general
" officer, that will readily receive and employ any
" that shall be prevailed with to take arms, as is
" promised; and, in case we find a fit obedience
" and reception from the city of Limerick, we shall
" be ready in person to receive and conduct such
" forces in the said province.

" In Ulster we have, in pursuance of the agree-
" ment made with that province, given our com-
" mission to the bishop of Clogher; and in Con-
" naught, the lord marquis of Clanrickard commands
" the army. We know no use, to which any money
" raised upon the people hath been employed, but to
" the maintenance of the forces; if you do, we shall
" desire to be therein informed, to the end that any
" past misapplication thereof may be examined and
" punished, and the like prevented for the future.

" To conclude, we seriously recommend to your
" consideration the ways of procuring such obedi-
" ence to his majesty and his authority in general,
" and particularly from the city of Limerick, as may

" enable and encourage us, with honour and hope of " success, according to our desire, to use our utmost " industry, and to encounter all hazards, for the de- " fence of this kingdom and nation, against the ty- " ranny that will certainly be exercised upon them, " and the insupportable slavery they will be subject " unto, if the rebels prevail: and so we bid you " heartily farewell.

" Your very loving friend,

*From Loghreagh, the 1st of May*, 1650. " ORMOND."

Directed, " *For the archbishops, nobility,* " *bishops, the commissioners authorized* " *by us, in pursuance of the articles of* " *peace, and others assembled at Logh-* " *reagh.*"

Address on the said letter.

Upon receipt of this letter, they made another address to the marquis in writing, in which they said, " they were very far from intending, by any expres- " sion they had used, to excuse the deportment of " the city of Limerick; nor could any man (they " said) more feelingly than they resent their per- " sonal disrespects towards his excellency, while he " was lately in that city; whereof they had, in their " letters, then ready to be sent by a committee em- " ployed by them to that corporation, taken notice; " and they did hope, that, by their deportment, they " would hereafter merit to have it understood, that " it proceeded from ignorance rather than malice; " and that, concerning the garrisoning of the city, " the clergy, (that had met lately there,) and the " commissioners of trust, had written very effec- " tually to them, and employed two of the commis-

" sioners of trust thither, to solicit their compliance " to his excellency, and to represent to them the " danger and prejudice that would ensue their re- " fractoriness: and though it had not taken that " effect with them which was expected, yet they " humbly offered to his excellency, that a second " essay was to be made, and his excellency's further " positive commands to be sent thither; whereunto " if they would not listen, they promised, as much " as in them lay, that they would, in their respec- " tive degrees and qualities, and according to their " respective powers, so far as should be thought fit " and necessary, upon consideration had of what " hath been proposed hitherto between his excel- " lency and the commissioners of trust and them " concerning the garrisoning of that city, cooperate " to reclaim them, and bring them to perfect obe- " dience; humbly desiring, that what resolution so- " ever should be taken by that city, yet that his " excellency would be pleased not to impute it to " any disaffection in them, or want of zeal in the " nation, to advance his majesty's service; and, in " regard the transacting of that business might take " up some time, *it was humbly desired*, that his " excellency would be pleased to apply his imme- " diate care to the forwarding of the service, and " settling of affairs in the other parts of the king- " dom, answerable to the present dangers and con- " dition wherein it was; that there might be some " visible opposition to the growing power of the " enemy." At the same time that they sent this address to the marquis, signed by the bishops and the commissioners, (which was in the beginning of May, 1650,) they likewise sent the archbishop of

Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon to Limerick, with as reasonable and pressing letters to that corporation for receiving a garrison as could be written.

The marquis alters his resolution of leaving Ireland.

This demeanour in the assembly, and all the visible results of their consultation, together with their so deep professions of loyalty to the king, and of respect to his lieutenant, prevailed so far with the marquis, that he again declined his purpose of quitting the kingdom; and thereupon he dismissed a frigate which he had bought, and fitted for his transportation. And though the archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon returned from Limerick, without that entire submission from the city which was expected; yet he was willing to make the best interpretation of their general professions of duty, and to believe that they would by degrees be induced to do what they ought; and that he might be nearer to them, to encourage any such inclination, he removed to Clare, twelve miles from Limerick, and gave orders to the troops, which, for conveniency of quarters, were scattered at too great distances, to be ready to draw to a rendezvous; and he was shortly after (very reasonably) induced to be almost confident, that the city was well disposed: for having one day (about the 11th of June) visited some troops, which he had assembled within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare; the next day two aldermen of that city came to him with this following letter, from the mayor of that corporation.

"*May it please your excellency,*

Letter from the mayor of Limerick to the lord lieutenant.

"The city council having given me in command "to signify, and humbly offer unto your excellency, "that it was expected by them, that you would,

" being so near this city yesterday, bestow a visit on " it; the which is no way doubted had been done by " your excellency, if your greater affairs had not hin- " dered you from the same; and they do yet ex- " pect, when those are over, your excellency will be " pleased to step hither to settle the garrison here, " the which without your presence cannot (as is " humbly conceived) be so well done, or with that " expedition as our necessity requires; the particu- " lars whereof we refer to the bearers, alderman " Peirce Creagh and alderman John Bourke, their " relation; to whom we desire credence may be " given by your excellency, and to believe that I " will never fail to be,

*Limerick*, 12*th* *June*, 1650.

" Your excellency's
" most humble servant,
" John Creagh, mayor of Limerick."

This letter might very well have raised an expectation and assurance, that there would be now no more scruple of receiving a garrison; yet the aldermen that brought it made such pauses in the answering some necessary questions, that the marquis returned them the same night with this answer.

Lord lieutenant's answer.

" After our hearty commendations, we have re- " ceived your letter of this day's date, by the convey- " ance of alderman Peirce Creagh, and heard what " alderman John Bourke and he had to say as from " that corporation: in answer whereunto, we im- " parted some particulars unto them, wherein we " expected satisfaction: which if you send us to the " rendezvous to-morrow, (where we intend to be,) " we shall visit that city, and employ our utmost

" endeavours in the settling the garrison necessarily
" desired there, both for the defence and satisfaction
" of that city: and so we bid you heartily farewell.

*Clare*, 12*th* *June*, 1650. " Your loving friend,
" ORMOND."

Lord lieutenant's proposals.

The particulars he proposed to them were, first, to be received in the same manner, and with such respect, as the lord lieutenants heretofore had always been: secondly, to have the command of the guard, the giving the word and orders in the city: thirdly, that there might be quarter provided within the city for such guards of horse and foot as he should carry in, which should be part of the garrison, whereof a list should be given at the rendezvous.

The next day, when the marquis came to the rendezvous, the two aldermen met him there, and informed him that the city had consented to all that he had proposed to them, (except only the admittance of his guards, which they were unwilling to do;) whereupon he sent messengers presently back with this answer, " that he intended not the draw-
" ing in of his guards, out of any mistrust he had of
" the loyalty of the magistrates of that city to his
" majesty, or of their affection to himself; but for
" the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent
" any popular tumult that might be raised by des-
" perate and uninterested persons against him, or
" the civil government of the city, whereunto he
" had cause to fear some loose people might by false
" and frivolous suggestions be too easily instigated;"
and to take away all possibility of suspicion from the most jealous, that he could have no end to the

prejudice of the city, he told them, "the guards he "meant to take in with him should consist but of "one hundred foot and fifty horse, and even those "to be entirely of their own religion, and such as, "having been constantly of the confederacy, were "interested in all the benefits of the articles of the "peace:" and so not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an overture, he went towards the city. But when he was come very near the gates, the same aldermen came again to him, to let him know that there was a tumult raised in the city by a Franciscan friar, called father Wolf, and some others, against his coming into the town, and in opposition to the desires and intentions of the mayor and principal citizens; and therefore they dissuaded his going thither until the tumult should be quieted; so that the lord lieutenant was compelled with that affront to return, and rested that night at Shanbally, three miles from the city; from whence he wrote to them the sense he had of the indignity offered to him, and wished "them to consider not only by "what power they had been made a corporation "first, and by whose protection they had since flou-"rished, but also what solid foundations of safety "(other than by receiving the defence he had of-"fered) was or could be proposed to them by the "present disturbers of their quiet; and desired their "present answer: that in case he might be encou-"raged to proceed in the way he had laid down of "serving the king, and preserving the city from the "tyranny of the rebels, he might immediately apply "himself thereunto; or failing in his desires therein, "he might apply himself, and the forces he had ga-"thered for that purpose, to some other service."

Lord lieutenant advances towards Limerick.

A tumult thereon.

But neither this, nor all he could do upon subsequent treaties and overtures, moving from themselves, could at all prevail with them; no, not his offering to put himself into the city, and running the same fortune with it, when Ireton was encamped before it: but they continually multiplied and repeated their affronts towards him, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt, (and in the end, that we may have no more occasion to mention the seditious carriage of this unfortunate city,) broke open his trunks of papers, (which he had left there,) seized upon the stores of corn laid up there for the supply of the army, when he believed that place would have been obedient to him, and some corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own pleasure, and received some troops of horse into the city, which contrary to the marquis's order left the army; and with those troops raised and levied contribution in the county of Clare, upon those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the army, according to those orders which they were to obey: and when the marquis sent to the mayor, to deliver the officer of the said regiment as a prisoner to a guard appointed to receive him, he could obtain no other answer, (and that not in a week's time,) than that the government of that city was committed to major general Hugh O'Neal, and therefore he, the mayor, would not meddle therein: and when the like order was sent by the marquis to Hugh O'Neal, he returned answer, that he was only a cipher, and not suffered to act any thing but what the mayor and council thought fit: so that in truth that city was no less in rebellion then to the king than the army under Ireton was; though it did for a time

Repeated affronts to the lord lieutenant.

resist that army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that obedience to the king, as by all their obligations it ought to have been; and therefore must have the less peace of conscience to support them in the calamities they have since undergone.

In the letter formerly inserted from the marquis, about the beginning of May, to the bishops and commissioners assembled at Loghreagh, it is said, that, in pursuance of a former agreement, he had granted a commission to the bishop of Clogher, for the command of the province of Ulster; it will be therefore necessary to express what that agreement was, and the proceedings thereupon.

Bishop of Clogher appointed to command after the death of O'Neal.

Amongst the articles which had been made with general Owen O'Neal, it was provided, that in case of the said Owen O'Neal's death, or removal by advancement, or otherwise, before any settlement in parliament, (to which all the articles of peace related,) the nobility and gentry of the province of Ulster should have power to name one to the lord lieutenant, as chief governor for his majesty, to command in the place of the said Owen O'Neal; and the said command was to be conferred accordingly upon the person so to be named: and according to this power, Owen O'Neal being dead, the nobility, bishops, and principal gentry of that province, made choice of the bishop of Clogher to succeed him in the charge; and having signified such their election under their hands to the lord lieutenant, about the middle of March, he granted such a commission to him as he was obliged to do; and the bishop with great activity and courage proceeded in infesting the English rebels in that province as much as was

He infests the English rebels.

in his power; and having an army consisting of about five thousand men, foot and horse, about the twenty-third of June, 1650, (when the lord lieutenant himself could not draw one thousand men together, or keep them, if together, the space of forty-eight hours,) he encountered, not far from Londonderry, with sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English rebels in chief in those quarters, and was then inferior in foot to the bishop, though otherwise he had a great advantage of him, by having near treble the number of horse; notwithstanding which inequality, the Irish behaved themselves with courage, but in the end were totally defeated; so that the bishop was compelled, after he saw the day was irretrievably lost, to quit the field with a small party of horse that attended him; and the next day in his flight he had the misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the governor of that town, in the head of a party too strong for him, against which, however, the bishop defended himself with notable courage; and after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become a prisoner, upon promise first, that he should have fair quarter; contrary to which, sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty which he could devise.

Is defeated by Coote,

and basely murdered.

This was the unfortunate end of that unfortunate prelate, of whom, since he bore so great a part in the troubles of Ireland, and was much superior in parts to any man of that party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some particular passages of his life, that thereby his nature and disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the

spirit and temper of mind which that kind of men was possessed with, who had the greatest abilities to do hurt some few years before the rebellion.

His character and history.

This Ever Mac Mahon, being then arch-priest, and residing for the most part in or near Dublin, repaired to sir George Radcliffe, who had then a principal part in managing the affairs of state in Ireland; and being admitted to his presence, desired to have some private conference with him, without the presence of any other: all attendants and strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his knees, and said, "he came to put his life into his hands; told him "he had committed many treasons against the king, "for which he felt that remorse of conscience, that "he resolved rather to offer his life as a sacrifice by "confessing it, than endure the torment he felt by "concealing it; that he was capable of no quiet of "mind but by this disburdening himself; and if, by "the grace and mercy of the king, he might obtain "a pardon for what was past, he would in such "manner apply himself to his majesty's service, that "he would, in some degree, merit the benefit:" and then told him "of several treaties which were abroad "with foreign princes, in order to the disturbance "of the peace of that realm."

Upon hearing him, and those great expressions of penitence, sir George wrote to one of the secretaries of state in England, to inform his majesty of all the particulars, who (according to the clemency of his nature) sent a warrant over for the preparing and passing his pardon, the which shortly after sir George delivered to him, who again falling on his knees, and magnifying the mercy of the king, said, "he had

" now peace of mind, and desired nothing but to " deserve the favour of so gracious a sovereign, that " he would content himself with that evidence of his " majesty's goodness, without making further use of " it, or suing out his pardon according to the for- " malities and rules of the law; which, though ne- " cessary for his own security, would (being that " way made public) disenable him from doing his " majesty that service he intended, since he should " be admitted to those trusts, without which he " could make no discoveries."

From henceforward, during the whole government of the earl of Strafford, he gave frequent advertisements of some agitations by obscure and unknown persons of that nation, at Rome, and in France and Spain; which were rather instances of murmuring and seditious purposes, than, reasonably, like to produce any notable disturbance. From the beginning of the rebellion his power was very great with those who had been most (and he was with least dissimulation) violently opposite to any reconciliation, upon the first and second conclusion of peace by the confederate catholics; and so he continued firm to that party which followed Owen O'Neal, or rather governed Owen O'Neal, who commanded that party; and over and above those demands which concerned religion, (to which they seemed to adhere with more than ordinary zeal, and thereby drew the dependance of the clergy to them,) they insisted upon the restitution of the great estates in Ulster, which was not in the power of the crown to make, without the violation of several acts of parliament, and defeating many descents and purchases, which had passed with-

out any interruption or claim for the space of one hundred and fifty years. This impossible expectation kept both Owen O'Neal and the bishop of Clogher from concurring with the confederate catholics in the peace he made with his majesty; and the animosity they contracted against the confederates inclined them to relieve Londonderry, when (as it is remembered before) it was even ready to be reduced by his majesty's forces, rather than to submit to the peace made by them with the lord lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that agreement with the marquis, it must be acknowledged that the bishop performed, and observed it very justly, (as he was punctual in what he promised,) and applied himself with all dexterity and industry to the advancement of his majesty's interest; so that during his time he restrained the clergy in all their assemblies from making any acts which might discourage the people from their obedience to the king's authority; and therefore, how inconvenient soever his life had been to the peace and happiness of that nation, his death was very unseasonable; which was remarkable and notorious in these circumstances, that within less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neal to relieve sir Charles Coote in Londonderry, (who must otherwise within a few days time have delivered it up to the king,) he was himself and his army very near the same place defeated by the same sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and his life promised, executed by the positive order and command of him whom he had preserved.

Toward the end of July the marquis received a letter subscribed by the two persons, who styled

themselves the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, in these words.

" *May it please your excellency,*

Letter to the lord lieutenant from the titular archbishops of Dublin and Tuam.

" This nation, become of late a fable and reproach " of Christianity, is brought to a sad condition, not- " withstanding the frequent and laborious meetings " and consultations of the prelates; we find jealou- " sies and fears deep in the hearts of men, thorns " hard to take out; we see most men contributing " to the enemy, and rendering their persons and " substance useless to his majesty, and destructive to " religion and the king's interest: this kind of men, " if not timely prevented, will betray irremediably " themselves and us: we find no stock or subsist- " ence ordered for maintaining the soldiers, nor is " there an army (any way considerable) in the king- " dom to recover what is lost, or defend what we " hold: so as, humanly speaking, if God will not be " pleased, for his mercy sake, to take off from us " the heavy judgment of his anger, we are fair for " losing sacred religion, the king's authority, and " Ireland. The four archbishops, to acquit their con- " sciences in the eyes of God, have resolved to meet " at Jamestown, about the sixth day of the next " month, and to bring along with them as many of " the suffragans as may repair thither with safety: " the end of this consultation is to do what in us " lies for the amendment of all errors, and the reco- " very of this afflicted people. If your excellency " will think fit in your wisdom to send one or more " persons to make proposals for the safety of the " nation, we shall not want willingness to prepare " good answers; nor will we despair of the blessing

" of God and of his powerful influence, to be upon
" our sincere intentions in that place; even so we
" conclude, remaining

" Your excellency's

*July* 24, 1650. " humble servants,

" FA. THO. DUBLIN,

" FA. AR. TUAM."

Whoever reads this summons or invitation, will believe it to be *satis pro imperio*, and that such a direction to send one or more persons to make proposals to them for the safety of the nation, and that such a negligent expression (" that we shall not " want willingness to prepare good answers") could not proceed but from some superior to an inferior dependent: however, as the marquis knew it would be to no purpose to inhibit their meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in this manner.

" After our hearty commendations, we received Lord lieutenant's answer.
" yours of the twenty-fourth of July on the first of
" this month, and do with much grief acknowledge,
" that this nation is brought into a sad condition,
" and that by such means, as when it shall be known
" abroad, and by history delivered to posterity, will
" indeed be thought a fable; for it will seem incre-
" dible that any nation should so madly affect and
" violently pursue ways leading to their own de-
" struction, as this people will appear to have done;
" and that after the certain ruin they were running
" into was accidentally and frequently discovered
" unto those, that in all times, and upon all occa-
" sions, have had power to persuade or compel them
" to whatever they thought fit; and it will be less

" credible, when it shall be declared, as with truth
" it will be, that the temporal, spiritual, and eternal
" interest and safety even of those that had this
" power, (and that have been thus forewarned,) did
" consist in making use of it to reclaim the people,
" and direct them into the ways of preservation.
" To be plain, it cannot be denied but the dis-
" obediencies we have met with, (which we at large
" declared to many of you, who with divers of the
" nobility and gentry were assembled at Loghreagh
" in April last,) were the certain ready ways to the
" destruction of this nation, as by our letters to the
" assembly we made apparent; and ancient and late
" experience hath made as evident, what power
" those of your function have had to draw the peo-
" ple of this nation to what they thought fit: whe-
" ther your lordships have been convinced that the
" obedience which we desired should be given to his
" majesty's authority in us, pursuant to the articles
" of peace, was the way to preserve the nation, we
" know not; or whether your lordships have made
" use of all the means at other times, and upon
" other occasions exercised by you to procure this
" necessary obedience, we shall not now determine:
" sure we are, that since the said assembly, not only
" Limerick hath persisted in the disobedience it was
" then in, and aggravated the same by several af-
" fronts since fixed upon the king's authority, but
" Galway hath been seduced into the like disobedi-
" ence, for want of a due compliance from those
" places, but principally from Limerick. It hath
" been impossible for us to raise or employ an army
" against the rebels; for to attempt it any where on
" the other side of the Shannon, but near Limerick,

" and without absolute command of that city to se-
" cure it, could be no other than the certain ruin of
" the design in the very beginning of it; and to
" have done it on the other side the Shannon was
" impossible, since the groundwork of the army
" must be raised and supported from hence; which,
" while it was forming, would have exhausted all
" the substance of those parts, and not have effected
" the work: for want of such an army (which, with
" God's assistance, might certainly have been long
" since raised, if Limerick had obeyed our orders)
" the rebels have, without any considerable resist-
" ance from abroad, taken Clonmell, Terroghan,
" and Catherlagh, and reduced Waterford and Dun-
" cannon to great (and we fear irrecoverable) dis-
" tress. The loss of those places, and the want of
" any visible power to protect them, have doubtless
" reduced many to contribute their substance and
" personal assistance to the rebels; from whence,
" whether they might have been held by your
" church censures, we know not; but have not
" heard of any such issued against them: and lastly,
" for want of such an army, the rebels have taken
" to themselves contributions, which might con-
" siderably have assisted to support an army, and
" preserve the kingdom. If therefore the end of
" your consultation at Jamestown be to acquit your
" consciences in the eyes of God, the amendment of
" all errors, and the recovery of this afflicted people,
" as by your letter, giving us notice of your meet-
" ing, is professed; we have endeavoured briefly to
" shew, that the spring of our past losses and ap-
" proaching ruin arises from disobedience; and it
" will not be hard to shew, that the spring of this

" disobedience arises from the forgeries invented " and calumnies spread against the government, " and enticement of the people to rebellion, by very " many of the clergy. That these are errors fre- " quently practised, and fit for amendment, is no " more to be doubted, than that, unless they be " amended, the affliction of the people will continue, " and, as it is to be feared, end in their utter de- " struction; which if prevented by what your con- " sultations will produce, the happy effect of your " meeting will be acknowledged, without question- " ing the authority by which you met. Proposals " from us, other than what we have formerly, and " now by this our letter, made, we hold not neces- " sary. And so we bid your lordships heartily fare- " well.

" Your lordships'

*Roscommon, Aug.* 2, 1650. " affectionate friend,

" ORMOND."

Directed, " *To our very good lords, the arch-* " *bishops and bishops met at Jamestown.*"

Upon the receipt of this letter, the several bishops who met at Jamestown sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly to the lord lieutenant, with this letter of credit.

" *May it please your excellency,*

Letter of credit from the bishops at James- town

" We received your excellency's letter of the se- " cond current, where, to our grief and admiration, " we saw some expressions that seem meant for " casting the blame upon us of the present sad con- " dition of the kingdom, which we hope to answer " to the satisfaction of your excellency and the

" whole nation: in the mean time we permit this
" protestation, as we are Christian catholic prelates,
" that we have done our endeavours, with all earn-
" estness and candour, for the taking away from the
" hearts of the people all jealousies and diffidencies,
" that were conceived the occasion of so many dis-
" asters that befell the nation; and that, on all oc-
" casions, our actions and cooperations were ready to
" accompany all your excellency's designs for the pre-
" servation of his majesty's interest in this kingdom;
" whose state being in the present desperate condi-
" tion, we have thought it our duty to offer to your
" excellency our sense of the only possibility we could
" devise for its preservation; and that by the inter-
" vention and expression of the lord bishop of Dro-
" more and Dr. Charles Kelly, dean of Tuam, who
" shall clearly deliver unto your excellency our
" thoughts and good intentions, as to this effect;
" praying your excellency to give full credit to what
" they will declare in our names in this business,
" which will be still owned as our commands laid
" upon them, and the declaration of the sincere
" hearts of

*Jamestown, Aug.* 10, 1650. " Your excellency's
" most humble servants,

" *H. Armagh, Jo. archiep. Tuam, Nicholas*
" *Fernensis et procurator archiep. Dublin,*
" *Jo. Rapotensis, Eug. Killmore, Fa. An-*
" *tonius Clunmacnocen. Arth. Duecen. et*
" *procurator Leighlin,*" &c.

When the two persons intrusted had delivered their credential letter to the lord lieutenant, he wished them, in regard of the importance of the

matter they were intrusted with, to deliver what they had in command in writing: whereupon they presented him with a paper, containing these words.

"*May it please your excellency:*

Paper delivered to the lord lieutenant.

"We being intrusted from the clergy met at "Jamestown to deliver a message to your excellency, "importing their advice, what the only means is, as "they conceive, that may serve to free the nation "from the sad condition whereunto it is reduced at "present, do, in obedience to your excellency's com- "mands, signified for giving the substance of that "message in writing, humbly represent the same to "be as follows.

"That whereas your excellency, they doubt not, "hath laboured, by other hands, to bring the best "aids that possibly could be had from abroad for "the relief of this gasping nation; yet finding now, "in their consciences, no other expedient remedy "for the preservation thereof, and of his majesty's "interest therein, more prevalent than your excel- "lency's speedy repair to his majesty, for the pre- "venting the ruin and desolation of all, and leaving "the king's authority in the hands of some person "or persons faithful to his majesty, and trusty to "the nation, and such as the affections and confi- "dence of the people will follow, by which the rage "and fury of the enemy will receive interruption; "they humbly offer this important matter, of the "safety or destruction of this nation and the king's "interest, to your wisdom and consideration; hop- "ing that the kingdom, by your excellency's pre- "sence with his majesty, and intrusting the king's "authority safely, as above, may, by God's blessing,

" hold out, till relieved with supplies from his ma-
" jesty: the prelates in the mean time will do what
" lies in their power to assist the person or persons
" so intrusted. The great trust his majesty doth
" repose in your excellency, the vast interest of for-
" tune, the alliance and kindred you have in the na-
" tion, and your experience in the management of
" affairs of the greatest consequence, will, we doubt
" not, added to the other reasons proposed by us,
" induce you to embrace their advice, as proceeding
" from our pious intention, that look only upon the
" preservation of the catholic religion, the support
" of his majesty's authority, and the estates, liber-
" ties, and fortunes of his subjects of this kingdom,
" which we heartily offer, as

" Your excellency's

*Aug.* 13*th*, 1650. " most humble servants,

" FR. OLIVER DROMORE,

" CHARLES KELLY."

Though the marquis did not expect that the meeting of the bishops and clergy in that manner at Jamestown would have produced any better effect than their former meetings in other places had done, yet he could not imagine that their presumption would have been so great, as it appeared by this message to be; and when he communicated it to the commissioners of trust, they were no less scandalized at it, and believed that, upon a serious conference with the bishops, they should be able to reform their understandings and their wills; and therefore desired the marquis, that instead of sending a particular answer to the matter of the message, he would write to them to give him a meeting

Lord lieutenant appoints a meeting with the Irish bishops at Loghreagh.

at Loghreagh, on the 26th of the same month; to the end, that, upon a free conference, they might be induced to understand how pernicious a thing they had devised in order to their own security.

The bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly returned with this proposition; and the marquis making no doubt of their compliance, so far as to meet at the place he had appointed, went thither at the day assigned. They suffered the marquis to make a journey to Loghreagh, at the time appointed; but, instead of meeting him themselves, they sent their bishops of Cork and Clonfert, no otherwise intrusted than to receive his answer to the proposition they had made for his leaving the kingdom: to which, when he saw he could not draw them to a conference, he returned, "that they might well remember, that upon the disobedience he had formerly met with, he had obtained leave from his majesty to depart the kingdom; and that if themselves, the bishops, the nobility, and gentry met together, had not, in April last, in writing and discourse, given him assurance, that they not only desired his stay, but would endeavour to procure such obedience to him as might enable him (with hope of success) to have carried on the war, he would have made use of the liberty given unto him by his majesty, to have freed himself from the vexation which he had since endured, and the dishonour which he foresaw he should be subject to, for want of that power; without which (as he had then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the king or the nation: that he had transmitted those assurances to his majesty, with his own resolution to attend the ef-

But rejected; and only two persons sent to receive his

Answer to their proposition.

" fects: that he plainly observed that though the " division was great in the nation, under his govern- " ment, yet it would be greater upon his removal; " of which, in a free conference, he would have " given them such pregnant evidence, as he held not " fit to declare to them in writing. For these and " other reasons, he told them, that, unless he were " forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing " to remove out of the kingdom; and desired them " to use all the means within their power to dispose " the people to that dutifulness and obedience that " became them."

This wrought nothing on the temper of those men, who were resolved not to be satisfied with any thing the marquis could say to them; insomuch that within few days after they had received his answer from Loghreagh, at a time when the rebels were strong in the field, and had then passed the Shannon, if they had not been restrained by the few troops the marquis still kept on foot, they published an excommunication against all those, of what quality soever, who should feed, help, or adhere to the lord lieutenant: in which this circumstance is observable; that though they did not publish this excommunication until the 15th of September, it was enacted, at their assembly at Jamestown, on the 12th of August; which was within two days after they had sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly to persuade the marquis to leave the kingdom, and the day before they delivered their message, which was on the 13th: so that they thought any thing that the lord lieutenant should return to them would be impertinent to the matter in hand; nor, if they were not so delighted with their own proceed-

Whereupon they extravagantly excommunicate all who should adhere to the lord lieutenant.

ings that they have themselves carefully published their acts to the world in print, would it be believed, that persons, who in the least degree pretended a care of the people's welfare or security, could, at such a time, (when a potent, bloody, and malicious enemy was in the field,) set all men loose from all government, civil and martial, and not direct them whom they should follow or obey; for if it be said, "that they were advised to return to "their association, and, until a general assembly of "the nation could be conveniently called, unani-"mously to serve against the common enemy:" since no persons were named or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledged, that they were left without any directions at all, to the rage and fury of those who intended nothing but their utter extirpation.

And publish a Declaration.

Together with their excommunication, they published in the head of the army, a declaration, intituled, "A Declaration of the archbishops, bishops, "and other prelates and dignitaries of the regular "and secular clergy of the kingdom of Ireland, "against the continuance of his majesty's authority "in the marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ire-"land, for the misgovernment of the subject, and "the ill conduct of his majesty's army, and the vio-"lation of the articles of peace;" dated at Jamestown, in the convent of the Friars Minors, 12th August, 1650.

If the archbishops, bishops, and the secular and regular clergy of Ireland, will take upon them to declare against the king's authority where his majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves judges of his supreme minister, for the misgovern-

ment of the subject, and the ill conduct of his majesty's army; they assume an authority to themselves, which no other Christian clergy ever pretended; and sufficiently declare to the king, how far they are from being subjects, or intending to pay him any obedience, longer than they are governed in such manner and by such persons as they think fit to be pleased with.

If the marquis of Ormond had misgoverned the people, and conducted his majesty's army amiss, the clergy are not competent judges of the one or the other; and for the violation of the articles of the peace, the commissioners, nominated and authorized to provide for the due execution of them, were the only persons who could determine and remedy such violations, and who well knew there was no cause for that complaint; but that, on the other hand, the clergy had (as hath been before mentioned) obstructed that concurrence and obedience in the people, without which those articles could not be observed, or the security of the people provided for.

Purport of the declaration.

The preface of that declaration, (according to their usual method,) "justified and magnified their "piety and virtue in the beginning and carrying on "of the war; extolled their duty and affection to "the king, in submitting to him, and returning to "their allegiance, when (they said) they could have "had better or as good conditions from the rebels "of England; intimated what a vast sum of money "they had provided, near half a million of English "pounds, besides several magazines of corn, with a "fair train of artillery, great quantity of powder, "match, and ammunition, with other materials for "the carrying on the war, and many other parti-

Untruth thereof.

"culars of that nature," the monstrous untruth whereof doth sufficiently appear in what hath been said before; the marquis having been forced to borrow those little sums of money out of the pockets of his friends, and to spend all that he raised (upon the sale of good quantities of his own land) for the support of his wife and children, to enable the army to march, and which was never repaid to him; and the magazine of corn, ammunition, and other materials for war being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small forts of Maryborrow and Athy, held by Owen O'Neal's party, till he had by his own power and interest procured some supplies; when he did likewise contract with a merchant, and assign all the king's dues upon the customs and other duties for the payment for arms (and for which that merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great value: so far were these men from making that provision they brag of.

What conditions they might have had from the rebels of England may be concluded by the usage they have since found, the Divine justice having made that bloody people more merciless towards those, (whose frowardness, obstinacy, and treachery against the king's authority contributed most to their service,) than against any who worthily opposed them, and were most enemies to their proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable reproaches and calumnies to lessen the people's reverence towards the lord lieutenant, laying such aspersions on him in the said declaration, as might most alienate their affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without colour. They complained that

he had given many commissions for colonels and other commands to protestants, and upon them consumed the substance of the kingdom, who most of them either betrayed or deserted the service; whereas they well knew there was not one protestant officer, to whom the lord lieutenant gave a commission, who betrayed any place committed to him, or was otherwise treated, in order to their support, than all other officers of the same condition in the army; nor did they quit the service until after many of them had gallantly lost their lives; and that the clergy had so far incensed the people against them, only for being protestants, that the marquis was compelled to give them passes to depart the kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the rebels were very glad to let them pass through their quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the king of the only strength they apprehended, officers of such known courage and conduct.

They accused him of improvidence in conducting the army after the defeat at Rathmines, of not relieving Drogheda, of permitting play, drinking, and license in the camp, and such bold aspersions as, without examination, might gain credit with the people, and reflect upon his honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the action of Rathmines is set down before at large, and the taking of Drogheda by storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known, that in his own person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself leave to enjoy those pleasures and liberties which might very well have consisted with the office and duty of the most severe general, and

that in above three months time (which was from his first drawing the forces to a rendezvous, till after the misfortune at Rathmines) he never slept out of his clothes: so that the malice and drift of those unreasonable and senseless calumnies are easy enough to be discerned, and can only make impression upon vulgar minds, not enough informed of the humour and spirit of the contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the merit of the prelates, the declaration they had made in their congregation at Clanmacnois, their frequent expressions of their sincerity, and most blamed the marquis for not making use of their power and diligence towards the advancing the king's interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his letter to the prelates at Jamestown, of the second of August, (which is before remembered;) and they said, that words were heard to fall from him dangerous as to the persons of some of the prelates: to all which little need be said, since there is before so full and just mention of their fair declaration and profession, and their actions which accompanied them: and for the danger the persons of some of the prelates were in, they will be ashamed to urge, when it is known that their bishop of Killalow was brought to him in custody, even after he had signed this declaration and excommunication, and set at liberty by him; and whom the bishops themselves, in their letter to the earl of Westmeath, do acknowledge to be preserved by the marquis; and for which many will rather expect an apology, than for any jealousy he could entertain of persons, who behaved themselves in that manner towards the king's lieutenant.

They charged him with having represented to his majesty, that some parts of the kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely denied any disobedience by them committed; and that thereby he had procured from his majesty a letter to withdraw his own person and the royal authority, if such disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the people without the benefit of the peace: this was the reward, they said, his excellency, out of his envy to a catholic loyal nation, prepared for their loyalty, sealed with the shedding of their blood, and the loss of their substance.

Whether the obstinate and rebellious carriage of Waterford and Limerick, which brought destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a representation to be made to the king, may be judged by all men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those particulars; and if the prelates themselves had not acknowledged and seemed to lament those acts of disobedience, and had not most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, and promised all their endeavours to reduce the people to obedience, (which was only in their power to have done,) the marquis had been much to blame, longer to have exposed himself and his honour to those reproaches, and to have suffered his person, with the impotent name of lieutenant of Ireland, to have remained within that kingdom, and every day to hear of the rendering and betraying of places to the rebels, which he could no more remedy, than he could infuse a spirit of obedience, unity, and understanding, into that unhappy infatuated nation: yet he was so far from wishing that his majesty should absolutely withdraw his royal authority from them, (how unworthy soever they

made themselves of it,) that he always offered to leave the king's power in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, as he afterwards did; hoping, that since their great exception to him was for being a protestant, they would with all alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous Roman catholic, and whose affection and integrity to his majesty was as unquestionable.

They reproached him, that while he was an enemy to the catholics, he had been very active in unnatural executions against them, and shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen; but that since the peace he had shewed little of action, and then kept himself in Connaught and Thomond, where no danger was, and the enemy appeared not; so that they would neither suffer him to have an army to oppose the rebels, nor be contented that he should retire into those places where the enemy could least infest him, and from whence, with those few troops which remained with him, he defended the Shannon, and kept the rebels from getting over the river while he stayed there; and for the former activity and success against them, which they were content to impute to him, it was when he had a free election of officers, and an absolute power over his garrisons, where he caused the soldiers to be continually exercised, and their arms kept in order; and from whence he could have drawn his army together, and have marched with it to what place he would, which advantages he was now without, and the rebels were possessed of: and therefore it was no wonder that they now obtained their victories as easily as he had done formerly. But since they were so disingenuous and ingrateful (there being

many among them, whose lives he had saved with apparent danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural executions against them, and in shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen; and for the improvement and propagation of that calumny, it hath pleased some persons to cause that declaration to be translated into Latin, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the Roman catholics; and have named two priests, who, they say, were by his orders executed, and put to death in cold blood, and after his promise given to save their lives, whose names were Mr. Higgins and Mr. White: it will not be impertinent to set down at large the case of these two persons, that from thence, men who have no mind to be deceived and misled may judge of the candour and sincerity of those persons who would obtrude such calumnies to the world.

It must therefore in the first place be known, that when those two priests were put to death, the war was conducted and carried on by the two houses of parliament; that the government of Ireland was in the hands of the two lords justices, Parsons and Borlace, who, upon the cruelties first practised by the Irish catholics in the beginning of the rebellion, had forbidden any quarter to be given, and taken all ways to incense the soldiers against the Irish nation, and principally against all priests; and the marquis of Ormond was only then lieutenant general of the army, and received all orders from the lords justices, who were jealous of him, as a person who dissembled not his devotion to the king, and who were directed to watch his actions as strictly as if he had been their enemy. At this

time, the marquis having intelligence that a party of the rebels intended to be at such a time at the Naas, he drew some troops together with a hope of surprising them; and marching all night, came early in the morning into the town, from whence the rebels, upon notice, were newly fled: in this town some of the soldiers found Mr. Higgins, who might, it is true, easily have fled, if he had apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the marquis, he voluntarily acknowledged that he was a priest, and that his residence was in that town, from whence he refused to fly away with those who were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he should not be without ample evidence of it, having by his sole charity and power preserved very many of the English protestants from the rage and fury of the Irish; and therefore he only besought the marquis, by his authority, to preserve him from the violence of the soldiers, and to put him securely into Dublin, to be tried for any crime; which the marquis promised to do, and performed it; though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a priest, the officer into whose custody he was intrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the marquis could do to relieve him, and compose the mutiny. When he came to Dublin, he informed the lords justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit from entering into rebellion, and of the very many charitable offices he had performed; of which there wanted not evi-

dence enough, there being many then in Dublin, who owed their lives, and whatsoever of their fortunes was left, purely to him: so that he doubted not, he would be worthy of their protection. Within a few days after, when the marquis did not suspect the poor man to be in danger, he heard that sir Charles Coote, who was provost marshal general, had taken him out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity, when the lord marquis complained to the lords justices, he was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought in justice to have been. This was the case of Mr. Higgins, and this the marquis's part in it; and the poor man was so far from complaining of his breach of promise at his death, (how confidently soever it may be averred,) that he exceedingly acknowledged the favour he had received from his lordship, prayed for his prosperity, and lamented his want of power to do that which the world saw his inclination prompted him to. The proceeding against Mr. White was very different, and in this manner. The marquis being upon the march with the army, he quartered one night at Clonie, (a house of the earl of Westmeath's, who was residing there with his wife and family;) when he was at supper, many of the officers being at the table, the lady of the house, upon some whisper she received from a servant, expressed some trouble in her countenance; which the marquis (who sat next her) perceiving, asked her what the matter was: she told him in his ear, that she was in great apprehension on the behalf of an

An instance of the bloody disposition of the English rebels.

honest man who was in her house, and much feared the soldiers, confessing that he was a priest. The marquis replied, that if he was in the house, and kept himself there, he was in no danger; for as the soldiers would attempt nothing while he the marquis stayed there, so he would leave a guard at his departure, that should secure it against stragglers, or any party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the morning, when he was ready to march, he received information that the rebels were possessed of a pass by which he was to go; whereupon he sent some troops to get a ford, three miles from the way the army was to march, and by that means to come upon the rear of the rebels by the time the army could come to the pass; which being done, (after a short encounter, in which many were killed,) the rebels were put to flight, and the pass gained. In this action Mr. White was taken on horseback with a case of pistols, who desired to be brought to the marquis; which being done, he told him he was the person for whom the countess of Westmeath had besought his favour the night before, and that his lordship had promised that he should be safe. The marquis told him, that if he was the same person, it was his own fault that he was not safe; if he had stayed in the house he was in, this had not befallen him; that it was now out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to observe those orders which the lords justices had given him. Nevertheless he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to Dublin; but the whole army (which was possessed by the parliament at Westminster, and by the lords justices, with a very bitter spirit against the Roman

catholic clergy) mutinied upon it, and in the end compelled the marquis to leave him to that justice which they were authorized to execute; and so the man was by them put to death. Who can now, upon these two instances, (and no other have been or can be given,) reasonably or honestly say, that the marquis hath had his hands defiled with the blood of priests? And from the time that he had the chief power committed to him, there was not only any priest (how maliciously, or rebelliously, or treacherously soever they behaved themselves to the king's service, and to the person of the lord lieutenant) who suffered death, but all other acts of rage and blood, which are not necessary, though hardly avoidable in the most just war, were declined and discountenanced by him.

I shall pass over the many tautologies and other impertinent calumnies in the said declaration; all which are sufficiently answered and cleared by what is already contained in this narrative; and shall only insert the conclusion in their own words, which were as followeth: "For the prevention of these "evils, and that the kingdom may not be utterly "lost to his majesty and his catholic subjects, this "congregation of archbishops, bishops, and other "prelates and dignitaries of both clergies of this "kingdom, found ourselves bound in conscience "(after great deliberation) to declare against the "continuance of his majesty's authority in the per-"son of the lord marquis of Ormond; having by "his misgovernment, ill conduct of his majesty's "army, and breach of public faith with the people, "in the several particulars of the articles of peace, "rendered himself incapable of continuing that great

Conclusion of the declaration.

" trust any longer, being questionable before his " majesty for the aforesaid injuries and ill govern- " ment, (to which effect we will join with other " members of this kingdom in drawing a charge " against him:) and we hereby manifest unto the " people, that they are no longer obliged to obey " the orders and commands of the said lord marquis " of Ormond; but are, until a general assembly of " the nation can be conveniently called together, " unanimously to serve against the common enemy, " for defence of the catholic religion, his majesty's " interest, their liberties, lives, and fortunes, in pur- " suance of the oath of association; and to observe " in the mean time the form of government the said " congregation shall prescribe, until otherwise or- " dered by an assembly, or until, by application to " his majesty, he settle the same otherwise. And " we do fulminate the annexed excommunication of " one date with this declaration, against all opposers " of the same declaration."

It would probably appear an unnecessary, and might be thought an uncharitable sharpness to inveigh against, or to observe by a gloss or paraphrase, the logic and unavoidable consequence of the doctrine and particular conclusion in this monstrous declaration; since all sober professors of the Roman catholic religion must abhor it, as aiming at, and indeed assuming a jurisdiction, which the united body of the prelates and clergy in no one catholic kingdom or country do pretend to have, and containing several clauses, which by the established laws of every kingdom and country in Christendom are manifestly treasonable: and it is much more requisite to vindicate the marquis from the very natural im-

putation of levity, and most supine remissness of government, for not chastising and suppressing that seditious spirit in the clergy, which, from the very conclusion of the peace, perplexed and disturbed him in whatsoever he went about, and infused jealousies and distrusts into the hearts of the people; and that he did not, upon this last transcendent treason of the bishops, seize upon their persons, and proceed against them in an exemplary way of justice: at least that he did not apprehend the ringleaders of them, after they had published their wicked and rebellious excommunication, and taken some sudden vengeance upon them by any act of outrage, when there was no means for a formal proceeding by the common rules of justice, before the effects of their presumption should have been discerned, by the shrinking away and disbanding those few troops which then remained: and there is no doubt but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the temper of that people, much more liable to reproaches of that kind, than to the other, of rigour and severity against the Roman catholics, of which he was not in the least degree guilty. But the truth is, he will easily be absolved from that reprehension by all who are sufficiently informed of the incredible and unreasonable reverence which the common people of that nation pay to their clergy, of how inferior a rank soever, and that they have all their directions and determinations in that absurd veneration, that when a regiment hath been marching by order of their general, a seditious friar hath put himself into the head of them, taken the colours in his hand, and pronounced

damnation to those who should presume to march; whereupon, notwithstanding all the commands of their superior officers, who (though Roman catholics) were for the most part scandalized at the demeanour of their clergy, all the soldiers have thrown down their arms, and departed to their several habitations, as it fell out in an expedition at Kilkenny.

Nor was it possible for the marquis to procure justice to be inflicted in a civil or a martial way upon any ecclesiastical person, let his crime be what it would; since even they whose zeal and affection to his majesty's service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at that intolerable carriage and proceeding of the bishops and clergy as they ought to be, and whose duty was not in the least degree shaken by their declaration and excommunication, were yet so tender of those immunities and privileges which were said to belong to the church, and so jealous of the behaviour of the people in any case which should be declared a violation of those privileges, that they would by no means have a hand in the inflicting capital punishment upon any churchman, without the approbation and cooperation of the bishops, who were not like to be so hard-hearted as to consent to any judgment upon the accessories in those crimes, in which themselves were the principals; so that he must not only have determined by his own single will and judgment what was to be done in those cases, but he must have executed that determination with his own hand: and this consideration obliged the marquis to all those condescensions and sufferings, and upon all occasions to endeavour to dispose and dissuade those prelates

from any obstinate and ruinous resolutions, rather than to declare them to be enemies whom he could neither reform nor punish.

The excommunication was no sooner published by the congregation, and consented to, and approved by the other part of the bishops and clergy who were sitting at Galway, but they quickly discerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably, they had proceeded in order to their own ends; and that they had taken care only to dissolve and disband all their forces, without making any kind of provision for the opposition of the rebels, who had quickly notice of their ridiculous madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole power upon them: the people, who generally foresaw what must be the issue of that confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the rebels upon any conditions: the nobility, and principal gentry, and the commissioners of trust, who saw the whole power and jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed and exercised by the congregation, continued their application to the lord lieutenant, and desired him not to leave them exposed to the confusion which must attend his departure: the gravest and most pious of the clergy lamented the unskilful spirit of the rest; and even some of the bishops, and others who were present at the congregation, and subscribed the excommunication, disclaimed their having consented to it, though they were obliged to sign it for conformity; so that they found it necessary, within less than three days after the publishing it, to suspend that dreadful sentence: and yet, that it might appear how unwillingly they did those acts of gentleness and sobriety, it will not be amiss to

The consequences of the wild proceedings of the Irish prelates.

set down the letter itself, which the titular bishop of Clonfert and Dr. Charles Kelly wrote to the officers of the army under the command of the lord marquis of Clanrickard, to that purpose; which was in these words:

Letter to suspend the excommunication.

"Yesterday we received an express from the rest "of our congregation at Galway, bearing their sense "to suspend the effects of the excommunication "proclaimed by their orders till the service of Ath- "lone be performed, fearing on the one side the dis- "persion of the army, and on the other side having "received most certain intelligence of the enemy's "approach to that place, with their full force and "number of fighting men; and thereupon would "have us concur with them in suspending the said "excommunication. As for our parts, we do judge "that suspension to be unnecessary and full of in- "conveniencies, which we apprehend may ensue, "because the excommunication may be obeyed, and "the service not neglected, if the people were "pleased to undertake the service in the clergy's "name, without relation to the lord of Ormond, or "any that may take his part; yet fearing the cen- "sure of singularity in a matter of so high a strain "against us, or to be deemed more forward in ex- "communicating than others, also fearing the weak- "ness of some, (which we believe the congregation "feared,) we are pleased to follow the major vote, "and, against our own opinion, concur with them; "and do hereby suspend the said censure, as above; "provided always, that after that service performed, "or the service be thought unnecessary by the "clergy, or when the said clergy shall renew it,

" it shall be presently incurred, as if the said sus-
" pension had never been interposed; and so we
" remain,

" Your assured loving
*Corbie, Sept.* 16*th*, 1650. " friends in Christ,
" WALTER BISHOP OF CLONFERT,
" CHARLES KELLY."

If these authentic evidences (of the truth whereof there is not room for the least doubt) were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that men endued with common understanding, and professing the doctrine of Christianity and the allegiance of subjects, could, upon deliberation, publish such decrees? And who can wonder, that a people enslaved to, and conducted by, such spiritual leaders, should become a prey to any enemy, though supplied with less power, vigilance, and dexterity, than those prosperous rebels always were, who have prevailed against them; and who, by all kind of reproaches, rigour, and tyranny, have made that unhappy congregation pay dear interest for the contempt and indignity, with which they prosecuted their sovereign and his authority.

The king forced to acts, which gave countenance to this behaviour of the Irish prelates.

Though most of the commissioners of trust, and all the principal nobility, and the most considerable gentry, remained; in their particular affections and resolutions, firm and unshaken in their devotion to the king, and in their submission to the authority of his lieutenant, (notwithstanding the declaration and excommunication;) yet there fell out an unhappy accident, which in this conjuncture seemed to give some countenance, and did procure much submission, to that extravagant act of the clergy. The

king was in Scotland, and was about that time, by that fierce and unskilful party which was then possessed of the whole power in the kingdom, absolutely forced to consent, that is, to set his hand, to several papers which were proposed and brought to him, and without the doing whereof he was plainly told he should have no power or authority over that people, not without implication enough, that his person would not long remain at liberty; and they who would have opposed those proceedings, both for the matter and manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his majesty to redeem himself from the mischiefs which threatened him, by complying with what he could not control, as the only means to recover that power which was usurped from him, and which indeed in a short time he did, to a great degree, reduce to the proper channel. Amongst the papers so obtained as aforesaid, there was a declaration in his majesty's name, "by which "the peace concluded with the Irish catholics in "the year 1648, by authority from the late king of "ever glorious memory, and confirmed *by his ma-* "*jesty who now reigns*, was pronounced and ad- "judged to be void, and that his majesty was ab- "solved from any observation of it;" and this not grounded on those particular breaches, violations, and affronts, which had been offered to his majesty's authority, and contrary to the express articles, provisions, and promises of that treaty of peace; but upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with those persons, who were branded with many ignominies and reproaches. Albeit this declaration in truth issued (in point of time) in Scotland after the excommunication by the congregation at

Jamestown; yet the notice of it came so near the time of the publication of the other, that the clergy inserted it in their declaration, as if it had been one of the principal causes and foundations of their excommunication, and depriving the marquis of his authority, and the affections of all their people who were concerned in their interest to have the peace observed, (which they looked upon as the only foundation of security for the nation and for their particular fortunes,) and were willing to hearken to any counsels which were most like to provide that that peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

Conduct of the marquis on the king's forced declaration.

When the marquis first heard mention of that declaration in Scotland, he did really believe it a forgery, contrived, either by the English rebels or the Irish congregation, to seduce the people from their affection and loyalty to the king; but when soon after he was assured what condition his majesty was in, and that in truth such a declaration was published in his name, he immediately issued out his orders for the meeting of an assembly at Loghreagh on the fifteenth of November; and in the mean time, on the twenty-third of October, for the better composing the minds of men, and preventing those distempers, (which might be infused,) he wrote to the commissioners of trust, and took notice of that declaration which was published in Scotland, and told them, "that however the affronts put upon his "authority had been many, and were obstinately "persisted in to that day, and in such places, where-"upon evidently depended the preservation or loss "of the whole kingdom, whereof he had several "times given notice to them, and followed the ways "advised by them for reclaiming the said places

His letter to the commissioners of trust.

" without success; yet, considering the declaration " gained from his majesty was without hearing what " could be said by the nation in their own defence, " and such as involved it generally, without excep- " tion, in the guilt of rebellion; he thought fit to " let them know, that since the said declaration was " by undue means obtained from his majesty, he " was resolved, by all the means it should please " God to offer unto him, and through all hazards, in " the behalf of the nation, to insist upon and assert " the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace by " virtue of the aforesaid authority; and that the " said peace was still valid and binding to his ma- " jesty and all his subjects: and herein he told " them, he was resolved, by the help of God, to per- " sist, until both himself, and such as should in that " behalf be intrusted and authorized by the nation, " should have free and safe access to his majesty; " and until, upon mature and unrestrained consider- " ation on what might on all sides be said, his ma- " jesty should have declared his royal pleasure upon " all the affronts which had been put upon his author- " ity; provided, that upon this engagement of his, " first, That all the acts, declarations, and excommu- " nications, issued by the bishops against his author- " ity, and the people's giving obedience thereunto, " should be by them revoked, and such assurance " given as should be agreed by him and the com- " missioners of trust; that they, nor any of them, " should attempt the like for the future, and that " they should contain themselves within the bounds " prescribed by the articles of the peace, whereto " they were parties. Secondly, That it should im- " mediately be declared by the commissioners of

" trust, that the said declarations, excommunica-
" tions, and other proceedings of the said bishops,
" was an unwarrantable usurpation upon his ma-
" jesty's just authority, and in them a violation of
" the peace; and that in case the bishops should not
" give the assurance before expressed, or, having
" given it, should not observe the same, that they
" would endeavour to bring the offenders to condign
" punishment, pursuant unto, and as is prescribed
" by, the laws of the kingdom. Thirdly, That a
" like declaration should be made by all that derive
" authority from his majesty, civil or martial, and
" by the respective mayors, aldermen, common coun-
" cilmen, burgesses, and other magistrates in the
" corporations of the kingdom. Fourthly, That the
" lord lieutenant should be permitted to make his
" free and safe residence in any place he should
" choose within the limits not possessed by the re-
" bels. Fifthly, That he should be immediately
" suffered to garrison such places and in such man-
" ner, according to the articles of peace, as he should
" find necessary for the defence of the kingdom. In
" the last place, he wished that some course might
" be taken for his support in some proportion an-
" swerable to his place, yet with regard to the state
" of the kingdom; which last he said he should not
" propose, but that he was deprived of all his own
" fortune, whereupon he had wholly subsisted ever
" since his coming into the kingdom."

The commissioners of trust received his letter with all demonstration of respect and satisfaction, and the very next day returned him an answer; in which, after they had lamented the issuing out that declaration in Scotland, they said, " It greatly com-

Answer of the commissioners.

" forted them to understand that his excellency was " resolved, through all hazards, in behalf of the na- " tion, to insist upon and to assert that peace, and " persist in so doing, until he, or such as should be in- " trusted and authorized by the nation, should have " free and safe access unto his majesty, and as to " those provisoes which were expressed as necessary " conditions for the continuance of his majesty's au- " thority among them; which they said they did " (notwithstanding the said declaration) still em- " brace and reverence:" beside their general profes- sion to act what lay within their power in the ways of his majesty's service, and to the satisfaction of his lieutenant, they returned these ensuing answers.

As to the first, concerning the revocation of those acts, declaration, and excommunication, issued by the bishops, and the assurance demanded, that nothing of that kind should be attempted for the future; they said, " That his excellency (to whom they had " often expressed their resentment of such their " proceedings) might be confident they would la- " bour, as far as in them lay, to see his excellency " satisfied in that particular; and to that end they " would all, or some of them, with his allowance, " and as he should think fit, repair to Galway, to " treat with the prelates upon that subject." To the second they answered, " That albeit they knew, " that by the censures of the bishops his majesty's " authority was invaded, and an unwarranted go- " vernment set up, contrary to the laws of the king- " dom; and that they were assured no subject could " be justly warranted by that excommunication to " deny obedience to his majesty's authority in his " excellency; yet being of opinion that a public de-

"claration of that kind in that conjuncture of affairs "ought properly, and would with more countenance "and authority move from an assembly than from "them, and that from such a public declaration at "that time from themselves, they should wholly ob- "struct the way to prevail with the prelates to with- "draw those censures or acts which was desired by "the former proposition, and likewise endanger the "union that was necessary at present, in opposing "the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a "more perfect union for the future, wherein the "preservation of all the nation would principally "consist: they did therefore most humbly beseech his "excellency to call an assembly of the nation, from "whom such a declaration, as might be effectual in "that behalf, and might settle those distractions, "could only proceed: yet if in the mean time, and "before the meeting of that assembly, those cen- "sures then suspended should be revived, they "would endeavour to suppress their influence upon "the people by such a declaration, as should be- "come loyal subjects, and men intrusted to see all "due obedience paid to his majesty's government "over the whole kingdom." To the third they answered, "That they would at all times, and in such "manner as his excellency should think fit to pre- "scribe, invite all or any of his majesty's Roman "catholic subjects to such a declaration, which yet "(until they should understand the clergy's sense "upon the first proposition) they said they did hum- "bly represent as fit for a time to be forborne." To the fourth they answered, "That whatsoever "his excellency should find to be within their "power, and would direct to be done, concerning a

" place of residence for his person, they would rea-
" dily obey his lordship's commands therein." To the fifth they answered, " That upon conference " with his excellency of the places fit to be garri-
" soned, and the number of men fit to be put in " them, they would, according to the articles of the " peace, use their utmost endeavour to have such " garrisons, so agreed upon, admitted." And to the last they said, " They had at all times been ready " and willing that his excellency's charge should be " supported out of the revenue of the kingdom; " and that they were now ready to concur in the as-
" signing any of the dues already accrued, or such " as should grow due hereafter, or to impose any " new allotment upon the subject, towards his main-
" tenance."

When the lord lieutenant perceived that the temper and the desire of the commissioners of trust was so different from that of the congregation, and that in truth they were afflicted and scandalized at the exorbitancies of the other, and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive counsels they were engaged in; he would not, upon any experience or judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compass, and which many concluded would have been compassed, if attempted; and which, what other effect soever it had, would make it manifest, that there was not a concurrence in the nation in those acts which were like to destroy the nation. And therefore he willingly consented that the commissioners should go to Galway, where a committee of the congregation resided; whereof the bishop of Fernes was one: to whom they shewed

the letter they received from the lord lieutenant, and desired them to consider the state of the kingdom; and to know from them, what they conceived remained, that might tend best to the preservation of the nation and themselves. They told them, that a union could not be had for the preservation of the nation, without keeping the king's authority amongst them, for that many of the most considerable would instantly make their conditions with the enemy, if the king's authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that authority with them, but by revoking the excommunication and declaration; for the lord lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it, nor the marquis of Clanrickard undergo it, but upon those terms: whereupon they used all those reasons and arguments, which cannot but occur to all men who are not blinded with passion and prejudice, to induce them to such a retraction as could only advance the happiness, or indeed the subsistence of the nation.

Commissioners of trust expostulate with the committee of the congregation of the prelates.

But the Roman catholic bishops were inexorable; instead of abating any of that fury they had formerly expressed, they added new contumelies and reproaches to all the authority of the king. They said, "they observed by the lord lieutenant's letter, "that he informed his majesty of the disobedience "and affronts which had been put upon his author-"ity; and consequently, that he had suggested "matter unto his majesty for the making that de-"claration against the people that they had perused, "the declaration which had been published in Scot-"land, disavowing the peace; and that they were "of opinion, for ought appeared to them, that the

Their answer to the commissioners of trust.

" king had thereby withdrawn his commission and " authority from the lord lieutenant. That in the " said declaration, the Irish nation (as bloody re- " bels) were cast from the protection of the king's " laws and royal favour; and therefore it might be " presumed, that he would not have his authority " kept over such a nation, to govern them. That " they had been of opinion, and all their endeavours " had been employed to keep the king's authority " over them; but when his majesty throws away " the nation as rebels from his protection, with- " drawing his own authority, they could not under- " stand the mystery of preserving the same with " them or over them, nor how it could be done. " That they believed the best remedy (the king's " authority being taken away by that declaration) " of meeting the inconvenience of the people's clos- " ing with the parliament, is the returning to the " confederacy, as, they said, was intended by the " nation in case of a breach of the peace on his ma- " jesty's part. That they said would keep an union " among them, if men would not be precipitately " guilty of the breach of their oath of association; " which oath, by two solemn orders of two several " assemblies, was to continue binding, if any breach " of the articles of peace should happen on his ma- " jesty's part: that the king's authority and the " lord lieutenant's commission being recalled by that " declaration, they were of opinion that the lord " lieutenant had no authority to leave; and if they " must expose their lives and fortunes to the hazard " of fighting, for making good that peace, seeing the " danger and the prejudice was alike to defend that, " or get a better peace, why should they bind them-

" selves within the limits of those articles so dis-
" avowed?" And so with several tautologies urged the declaration in Scotland, as the ground and excuse for all their proceedings, when what they had done was before the issuing of any such declaration. They concluded; that " they could not consent with " safety of conscience to the revoking their declara-
" tion and excommunication, as demanded by the " lord lieutenant, nor to give assurance to him, or " the commissioners of trust, for not attempting the " like for the future."

They would not make this declaration in a case of conscience of so vast an extent and importance, without setting down their reasons under their hands; which it would not be reasonable (for the doctrine's sake) to conceal from the world, that it may the better judge of those particular spiritual guides, (for I do heartily wish that the conclusions which were made, and the ruin that flowed from thence, may not at any time reflect to the prejudice of more than the particular persons who made themselves guilty of that mass of mischief, and towards whom I shall not labour in an apology.)

1. Their first reason was, because the king's authority was not in the lord lieutenant; nor was there, they said, power in them to confer a new authority on him, which would be destructive to the nation if it continued in him, and was like to prove a preservative if in another; and that, they said, was their sense, when they declared against the authority in his person. So that though they had presumption to take the king's authority out of his lieutenant's hand, by their declaration and excommunication, and to inhibit all men to submit to it,

they had now the modesty to confess that they had not power to confer any new authority on him; their faculty of destroying was so much better than that of preserving.

2. Their second was, that they feared they should lose the few churches remaining under his government, as they had lost under him all the churches of the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford, and the rest; in which, they said, they agreed with the Maccabees, *Maximus et primus pro sanctitate timor erat templi.* By whose ill government those cities were lost, appears by what hath been said before; and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the marquis to depart the kingdom, it is too well known unto the world.

3. The third reason they thought fit to offer was, because the lord lieutenant had declared at Cork, that he would maintain, during his life, the protestant religion, according to the example of the best reformed churches, which might be the same in substance with the covenant for ought they knew: they said they could not expect from him the defence of the catholic religion; which was a strange objection against a protestant lieutenant of a protestant king, under whose government they pretended to be desirous to live: and whatever had been declared by the lord lieutenant at Cork in that particular was before the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and published and printed, and well known to those bishops; who after the same, (and notwithstanding that declaration,) with all demonstrations of cheerfulness, gave their consent to that peace which they now think fit to break because of that declaration.

4. The fourth reason was cast in the same mould, the scandal over the world, to make choice of one of a different religion, especially in Rome, where his holiness expected that a catholic governor should be placed over them; and they said they did fear the scourges of war and plague, that had fallen so heavy upon them, were some evidences of God's anger, for putting God's cause and the church's under such hands; whereas that trust might have been managed in a catholic's hand under the king's authority: which reason had indeed most ingenuity in it: and whenever they disguised their malice and their prejudice in those personal reproaches and calumnies which they know to be most untrue, if they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a protestant, they had more complied with the dictates and integrity of their hearts: and yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent suggestion, to make the humour of the court of Rome their rule of obedience to their sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a person of what religion they thought fit to be his vicegerent; as if they, not he, were to be consulted in it; which would administer much cause of jealousy to a protestant king and to his protestant subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole catholic nobility and gentry of the nation were enemies to those resolutions, as that that unhappy part of the catholic bishops and clergy did broach and propagate that new and destructive doctrine, which alone hath reduced the nation to the calamities it now undergoes.

5. The fifth reason was, that they should find no succour or countenance, but reproach and disgrace, from any catholic prince of the church, or laity,

whilst the marquis governed; when, in truth, since that time, and that their proceedings have been taken notice of, all catholic princes have looked upon them as uncapable of any succour or countenance, and have accordingly left them to the rage and rapine of their bloody and merciless persecutors.

Their other reasons were their vulgar, and so oft before recited exceptions to his person, in respect of the ill success of his conduct, and the prejudice the people had to him in regard of the same; and they said the two considerable corporations remaining (which were Limerick and Galway) were at so great a distance with the lord lieutenant, that they were thought to be resolved not to submit to him, though they resolved to appear (as in their intentions and actions they conceived they were) faithful to the crown, and obedient to the king's authority, if placed in another person.

To which suggestions nothing need be added to what hath been said in this discourse of the demeanour of those particular places; nor can the observation be avoided, that it was the natural practice of this congregation to use all their industry and artifice to infuse jealousy and sedition into the people, and distrust and obstinacy into the corporations, and then to urge that jealousy, prejudice, and indisposition of the people and corporations to countenance any thing that they thought fit to do or to oppose. They concluded, that the event of war being uncertain, if the nation should be reduced to the condition of agreeing with the enemy, the lord lieutenant would not be a fit man to agree for the exercise of their religion, for their churches, altars, or any thing concerning the same: and therefore

they said, that the best way that occurred to them, in this pressing exigency, for the union of the nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the enemy, was, that the marquis of Clanrickard (in whom, according to the sense of the congregation at Jamestown, they desired the king's authority might be left) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and the king's authority be taken from the lord lieutenant, until an assembly; and to that end, that a free and lawful assembly might be made to sit and judge upon the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, and touching the king's authority to be kept over them, and the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient: and to that they would willingly submit; for, they said, they never intended to hinder an assembly, or to give laws to the people; all that they endeavoured was, to defend the altars and souls intrusted to them; and as they were of opinion that the soldiers would follow the marquis of Clanrickard, and the people obey him, so they would contribute their best endeavours to that effect. They further gave assurance, that if a free and lawful assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their own safety and preservation, to make an agreement with the enemy, as they intended never, by the grace of God, to grant away from them by an affirmative consent the churches and altars, (if forced from them they were blameless,) so would they not hinder the people from compounding with the enemy for the safety of their lives and estates, when no way

of defence was appearing, though upon such an agreement they saw that they alone should probably be the losers of lives, estates, churches, altars, immunities, and liberties: but in such contracts with the enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert,) they should pray and conjure the catholics of Ireland, that that of the Maccabees might be recorded of them to future ages: *Erat pro uxoribus, et filiis, pro fratribus et cognatis minor solicitudo, maximus vero, et primus, pro sanctitate erat timor templi.*

And this was the answer delivered to the commissioners of trust upon the fifth of November 1650, at Galway, by the titular bishops of Killalah, Fernes, Kilmedough, Clonfert, Kilfinorah, and Dromore, after several and long conferences with the said commissioners of trust, who were intrusted by the nation upon the proposals made by the lord lieutenant, and the before recited; the commissioners at that conference being likewise six, sir Lucas Dillon, sir Richard Barnwall, sir Richard Everard, Mr. Richard Beling, Mr. Jeffery Brown, and Dr. Fennell; all eminent persons in their fortunes and interests, and in the trust and confidence of the confederate catholics. I take much, very much more pleasure in remembering, (which makes me say it upon all opportunities, to prevent the usual prejudice that is too frequently let loose upon whole nations, communities, and professions, for the guilt and errors of particular persons, officers, and professors,) that not only the whole nobility and gentry of fortune and interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious men of the secular and regular clergy, and even some of their bishops, did abhor and abo-

minate the proceedings of this congregation, and the doctrine they infused into the people; and that the same was disavowed by some of those bishops who were last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their procurators, without their assent or knowledge: I say, I take more pleasure in remembering this, than inserting such incredible actions, arguments, and discourses (or making sharp reflections on the same) of that unhappy, unprelatical, uncatholic congregation; which can never be looked upon by wise men of any profession as consisting of grave, temperate, or loyal persons, but as factious, rash, violent, and disloyal men, assembled without authority, transported with spleen, arrogance, and ambition; taking advantage of the ill successes whereof themselves were guilty, as the marquis said in his letter of the second of December, which he sent to the assembly at Loghreagh when he left the kingdom; of which letter, if an exact copy could have been gotten, this discourse would have been needless, there being so ample a vindication of whatsoever was or could be said against him in the other. Nor can any man avoid the observing, by the express words of the conclusion, upon their reasons in their conference with the commissioners, that though they seemed to desire that the marquis of Clanrickard (whose zeal to the catholic religion and interest in the nation was so notorious and confessed, that they durst not repine publicly at his known affection and integrity to the king) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and that the king's authority from the lord lieutenant might be left in him; yet they declared they meant it should only be until an as-

sembly, (which they well knew, by the express terms of the articles of the peace, could be only lawfully convened by the lord lieutenant;) and then that the assembly should judge of the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, touching the king's authority to be kept over them, the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient: so that they intended no other honour to the marquis of Clanrickard, than that by his countenance and reputation they might persuade the lord lieutenant to leave the king's authority behind him, and then that he should call an assembly, (which they would otherwise do themselves, and which they were sure should be constituted, for the most part, of such men as would follow their dictates,) by which himself should be divested of that power, and the king deposed from any further dominion over them, when they could persuade any foreign prince to take them into his protection; which practice they quickly set on foot afterwards: and for the further manifestation of their affection and loyalty to the king, which they cannot endure should yet be called in question, it is observable, that these men, who had so often contradicted and controlled the express acts of every assembly that had been convened since the beginning of the troubles, and now commanded the people, under pain of damnation, not to yield any obedience to the king's authority in his lieutenant, and declared, that they could not, with the safety of their consciences, consent to the propositions which he had lately made for the uniting of the nation, in defence of the peace,

so advantageous to their liberty and religion, and which the commissioners, trusted by and for the nation, thought so reasonable;—these men, I say, made no scruple of professing and declaring, that if an assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their safety and preservation, to make an agreement with the enemy, (the rebels of England, who had murdered their late sovereign with those inhuman circumstances, and who professed the extirpation of their religion and nation, and had massacred and reproachfully executed so many of their bishops and clergy in cold blood,) they could not hinder the people from compounding with them, for the safety of their lives and estates: which being seriously considered, we cannot enough wonder at the strange stupid resignation of their understandings who believed, or rather at their wonderful contempt of those understandings in those who would be persuaded to believe, that this congregation had loyal purposes toward the king, or that they never intended to hinder assemblies, or to give law to the people, when they cancelled all the fundamental laws, broke through all the acts of their own assembly, and forbad the people to pay any obedience to the king's lieutenant, who had only the lawful power to govern them. The more extravagant and unreasonable these proceedings were of the congregation and clergy, the more confident many honest and wise men were, that an assembly of the nation would regulate and control that unlimited power, and utterly disavow all that they had done; and therefore they, who were exceedingly offended and enraged against the congregation, were as solicitous

and importunate with the lord lieutenant to call an assembly: and though he had had too much experience of the nature and temper of that people, and of the transcendent power the clergy would still have over any assembly, (or at least over the people, when the assembly had done what it could,) to hope for any good effects from it; and though he saw that he should thereby the more expose his own honour and (which he considered much more) the dignity of his master to new insolences; yet, since he resolved to leave the kingdom himself, and was only unresolved whether he should leave the king's authority behind him liable to the same indignities and affronts, in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, which it had been subjected to in his own, and could have no kind of assurance that it should not, but by the professions and protestations of an assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his letters to that purpose for their meeting upon the 15th of November at Loghreagh; where they met accordingly; and the bishops, for removing, as they said, of any jealousies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and protested, "that by their excommunication and declaration at "Jamestown in August last, they had no other aim "than the preservation of the catholic religion and "the people; and that they did not purpose to make "any usurpation on his majesty's authority, nor on "the liberty of the people; confessing that it did "not belong to their jurisdiction so to do:" with which protestation (so contrary to what they had done, and which in truth they had so often made, even at the time they did all things contrary to it) the assembly was satisfied; and did not so much as

Lord lieutenant calls an assembly at Loghreagh.

Protestation of the bishops.

The assembly satisfied therewith.

make another protestation, that the bishops had done that which they ought not to do, nor exacted a promise from them, that they would not do the like in time to come. So that the lord lieutenant was resolved to look no more for satisfaction from them, nor expose the king's authority further by leaving any deputy behind him; but prepared the best he could to depart the kingdom, a small frigate then attending for that service.

Which makes the lord lieutenant resolve to leave the kingdom without a deputy.

When the assembly understood this his resolution, and saw plainly that he was even ready to depart, his goods and many of his servants being on board, they sent four of the members of their house to him, with an instrument in writing; in which they repeated the declaration and protestation made by the bishops mentioned before; upon consideration of which, and their professions to that purpose in the assembly, and of his excellency's letter dated the 16th of November last, "recommending to them, "as the chief end for which the assembly was called, "the removing of all divisions as the best way to "their preservation," they said, that the lords spiritual and temporal, and the gentry met in that assembly, conceived, "that there was not a better "foundation or ground for their union, than their "holding to and obeying his majesty's authority, to "which they owned, and ought to pay all dutiful "obedience: and they did thereby declare and pro-"test, that their allegiance unto his majesty's au-"thority was such, and so inherent in them, that "they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor "was there any power in the lords spiritual or tem-"poral, gentry or people, clergy or laity of the king-"dom, that could alter, change, or take away his

Letter from the assembly to the lord lieutenant on that resolution.

" majesty's authority; they holding that to be the " chief flower of the crown, and the support of the " people's liberties, which they did thereby declare, " protest, and avow, and that they did esteem the " same, and the obedience thereunto, essentially, in- " violably, and justly due from them, and the chief- " est means under God to uphold their union and " preservation: and they said, they did unanimously " beseech his excellency, in his great affection to the " advancement of his majesty's service, and his hearty " desires of the nation's preservation, to which they " said he had relations of highest concernment in " blood, alliance, and interest, to leave that author- " ity with them, in some person faithful to his ma- " jesty, and acceptable to the nation; to which per- " son, when he should be made known unto them, " they said they would not only afford all due obe- " dience, but would also offer and propose the best " ways and means that God would please to direct " them to, for the preservation of his majesty's rights, " and the people's interests and liberty, and for the " begetting a ready obedience in all places and per- " sons unto his majesty's authority."

This advice, though it carried with it a particular respect from the assembly to the lord lieutenant, and an acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty affection he had always had to advance his majesty's interest and service in that kingdom, contrary to the scandalous declaration of the congregation, gave not the marquis the least confidence that his majesty's authority could find more respect in the person of another, than it had met with in him; therefore he wrote to them by the same messengers, " that " he had sent authority to the lord marquis of Clan-

Lord lieutenant's answer.

" rickard to govern that his majesty's kingdom and " people; provided, that their declaration might be " so far explained as to give the marquis of Clan- " rickard full satisfaction, that the expressions they " made, touching the obedience they owned and re- " solved to pay unto his majesty's authority, was " meant the authority placed in his lordship, or any " other governor deriving or holding his authority " from his majesty; and that they esteemed it not " in the power of any person, congregation, or as- " sembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the people " free from obeying his lordship, or any other such " governor, during the continuance of the said au- " thority in him; without which, he said, he could " not, in duty to his majesty, leave his authority, " subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain " fancy of any man or men, and that without any " probability of saving the nation, which could no " otherwise be effected, than by the absolute cheer- " ful obedience of the people unto the authority " placed over them." And so having directed the marquis of Clanrickard (who submitted to the charge out of pure obedience, and only that he might not decline a service which they would say would have preserved the nation) not to assume the charge, unless the assembly gave him full satisfaction in the particulars required by him, the lord lieutenant, about the middle of December, which was the end of the year 1650, by the new account, embarked himself in a small vessel for France, after he had refused to receive a pass from Ireton, who offered it; choosing rather to trust the seas and the winds, in that rough and boisterous season of the year, than to receive an obligation from the rebels: and so after

He deputes the marquis of Clanrickard.

Leaves Ireland.

having been tossed at sea for the space of some weeks, and his other ships, in which were his servants, and goods, and many other persons, were perishing in the storm, himself landed in France.

And lands in France.

If the end of this discourse were only to vindicate the marquis of Ormond from those loose reproaches and groundless calumnies, with which those bold writers have endeavoured to asperse him, it might be very well concluded here, after it hath so clearly instanced the insupportable wants, weakness, and distractions he was to struggle with, even from the first minute of the conclusion of the peace, and when he seemed to be attended with the most success, and so fully evidenced the vast supplies, wealth, power, and (which makes the rest superior to the greatest and most difficult designs) the union of the most prosperous rebels; and on the other side, the weakness, poverty, and unskilfulness of the Irish; their want of money, of arms, of victuals, of officers, and of discipline, and, which would have made any plenty unsuccessful, the abundant want of union, discretion, and obedience to the superior commander; the rebellion of the incorporate towns against all the commands and orders of the king's lieutenant; and lastly, the extravagant and unlimited power of the most illiterate and worst affected part of the clergy over the consciences and understandings of the people;—I say, all these particulars being so undeniably evinced, the world (at least the soberer part of it) will be very easily satisfied, that the marquis of Ormond discharged the office of a wise, vigilant, and excellent commander, with the greatest constancy, courage, and integrity imaginable; and that none of the calamities, under which that unhappy nation

lies at present oppressed and broken, can be put upon his account. But since there was, and is still, so much profession of duty and obedience to the king's authority, and all the miscarriages and misfortunes imputed to the prejudice that attended the person of the marquis of Ormond, and that the prejudice to his person proceeded from his religion, from his being no Roman catholic; it will not be an impertinent or unprofitable expense of time, to take a view of the ways which were taken to preserve the nation, to advance the king's service, and the obedience that was paid to his majesty's authority, after it was placed in the marquis of Clanrickard; whose zeal and devotion to the Roman catholic religion hath been always as eminent and unquestioned as his loyalty and integrity to the king, and whose being a catholic hath not been able to shelter him from the virulence of those tongues, which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the other great and excellent person; the very same tongues and pens having with equal licence and malice, and with many of the same calumnies, aspersed the one and the other; so that, in truth, religion will be found to have the least influence upon the hearts of those who have so often mentioned it, as their only motive to those unlawful actions, which are not consistent with any religion.

Marquis of Clanrickard entreated to accept the government

The lord lieutenant was no sooner under sail, than the assembly applied themselves to the marquis of Clanrickard, who was then at his house at Loghreagh, and besought him to assume the government, as lord deputy of Ireland, according to the power left with him by the lord lieutenant. But the marquis absolutely refused to do it, except they

satisfied the proviso that was in the lord lieutenant's letter to them, and that he saw such an union among them, as might free the king's authority from the affronts it had been exposed unto: hereupon the assembly unanimously professed all obedience to his majesty's authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which, they said, the nation would be exposed to utter ruin; and the bishop of Fernes more particularly importuned him, in the name of the clergy, "not to de- "cline the charge, which could only preserve the "king's power in that kingdom, and the nation "from destruction; and promised so entire a sub- "mission and cooperation from the whole clergy, "that his authority should not be disputed."

Condition of the Irish at that time.

There were then in the possession of the Roman catholics the entire province of Connaught, in which they had the strong castle of Athlone, the strong and important town and harbour of Galway, and many other lesser forts and places of strength; a good part of the province of Munster, and in it the city of Limerick, which, by the strong situation of it, and the advantages it might have from the sea, could alone (with the help and assistance of Galway) have maintained a war against all the rebels' forces in Ireland: they had many parties of horse and foot in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster; which being drawn together would constitute a better army than the rebels were in truth masters of: so that the marquis had argument enough of hope, if he could be confident of the union of the nation; and he might reasonably promise himself an union of the nation, if he could be confident of the affections and integrity of the clergy; and they did now

promise with that solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, he saw the fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their parts to create a belief in him: he was therefore content to take the charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of a way to keep all the forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the two towns of Limerick and Galway with strong garrisons; which was the first work concluded on all hands necessary to be performed.

Their behaviour to the lord deputy.

Very few days had passed after the lord deputy had, upon such their importunity and professions, taken the government upon him, when it was proposed in the assembly (before their condition was impaired by any further progress or new success of the rebels) that they might send to the rebels, to "treat with them, upon surrendering all that was "left in their hands;" and when the same was opposed with indignation by the major part of the assembly, the bishop of Fernes himself, who had so newly importuned the lord deputy to assume the charge, and made such ample promises in the name of the clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the enemy; but instead of it very earnestly pressed, that "they might, in "order to their better defence, return to their an-"cient confederacy, and so proceed in their pre-"parations without any respect to the king's au-"thority:" and this motion found such a concurrence in the assembly from most of the bishops and clergy, and many others, that the officers of the army, and the principal of the nobility and gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordi-

nary passion in their contradiction; they told them,
The bishops smartly reprehended.
"they now manifested that it was not their preju-
"dice to the marquis of Ormond, nor their zeal to re-
"ligion, that had transported them, but their dislike
"of the king's authority, and their resolution to with-
"draw themselves from it; that for themselves they
"would constantly submit to it, and defend it with
"their utmost hazard, as long as they should be
"able; and when they should be reduced to that
"extremity, that the treating with the rebels could
"be no longer deferred, they would in that treaty
"make no provision for them; but be contented
"that they should be excluded from any benefit
"thereof, who were so forward to exclude the king's
"authority." Upon these bold and necessary me-
naces, (to which they had not been accustomed,) the
clergy and their party seemed to acquiesce, and pro-
mised all concurrence; but from this very time, all
the factions and jealousies which had been before
amongst them were improved.

Several Irish desert to the rebels.
The Irish, in all quarters of which the rebels were possessed, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them entered into their service, and marched with them in their armies; and the lord deputy grew as much into their disfavour as the lord lieutenant had been, and his being a friend to the marquis of Ormond destroyed all that confidence which his being a Roman catholic had merited from them.

Lord deputy appoints a rendezvous.
Notwithstanding all these discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the deputy issued out his orders to all the forces, which, for conveniency of quarter, and the more to infest the rebels, were scattered over the provinces, that they should meet

at a general rendezvous at the time and place appointed; resolving, with as much expedition as he could, to engage the enemy, which in truth (with putting in so many soldiers into those towns and places of strength which had been delivered to them, and with sickness) was much weakened; and he did once draw together a greater body of horse and foot at a rendezvous, than all the forces that the rebels could bring would consist of: and hearing that Ireton (who then commanded in chief for the rebels in the kingdom) marched towards Athlone, he made all possible haste to encounter him; but after he had gone two days march towards that place, he received certain intelligence that the rebels (being furnished with all necessary guides, and having much better information of all he did from the Irish, than the deputy could procure) were marched over the mountains towards Galway. Upon which advertisement, he made what haste he could back the same way he came; and sent orders to the earl of Castlehaven, the general of the horse, to meet him with the forces under his command, at a village called ——, where the deputy expected him, the rebels being then within less than a mile with their main body, and only a narrow pass between them, which the deputy made little doubt of defending, until all his forces should come up, and then resolved to fight them; which was the only thing he desired, and believed himself to be in a very good posture to do. When the earl of Castlehaven received his orders to march, he took special care to leave the single pass (by which the rebels might possibly get over the river of Shannon) well guarded, that so they might be entirely engaged at the place where the deputy

Resolves to fight Ireton.

was without any danger in their rear; he did not think the guarding of the place to be of any difficulty, where there was an old strong castle, that stood even into the river, and in the mouth of the pass, and against which the rebels could not plant any ordnance to annoy it; and in this castle he left threescore musketeers, and withal two troops of horse, which was strength enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished army from landing on that side.

The earl had not marched above three hours, when, upon the rising of a hill, he heard the report of a few muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the two troops of horse, which he had left to guard the pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable confusion, and without being pursued by any man: the rebels having, it seems, excellent and speedy intelligence of the earl's march, sent over two or three boats with musketeers from the other side of the river, who, without the least opposition, or having one man hurt, landed at the castle, which the horse and foot abandoned and left to their possession; so that it was then in their power to draw over as many as they would of their army. As soon as this news was heard amongst those who marched with the earl, without any respect to his person, command, or entreaties, or without the least sight of an enemy, or indeed the possibility of being pursued, (for there were yet only a few foot landed on that side the river, and the bringing over their horse would take up much time,) they fled, dispersed and disbanded, insomuch that of four thousand, which in the morning the body consisted of, the earl brought not with him to the place where the lord deputy

Shameful cowardice of the Irish troops.

was above forty horse; so that the deputy easily saw he was in no case to engage with the rebels; that he should be quickly attacked in the rear by that part of the army which had already, and speedily would pass the river; and that the same fright possessed his men who had hitherto kept the bridge, and who now began to yield ground; and that in truth very many of his soldiers had that night run away, and thereupon he drew off, and marched away; both horse and foot, when they were got out of danger of the enemy's pursuit, dispersing themselves: and from this time the deputy could never draw any considerable and firm body into the field, nor make any opposition to the progress the rebels made; the Irish in all places submitting to and compounding with them, and murmuring as much against the lord deputy, as they had before against the lord lieutenant.

Lord Taaffe's negociation with the duke of Lorrain.

Before the lord lieutenant left the kingdom, he had sent the lord viscount Taaffe (who had been an eyewitness of all his proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the minds of the clergy to the king's service) to give the king an account of the affairs of Ireland, and how impossible it would be to preserve his authority in that kingdom, without some more than ordinary supplies from abroad. His lordship landed in Flanders, the king being then in Scotland, and quickly understood how unlike his journey into that kingdom was to advance the business upon which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the presence of the king, from whom most were removed who had attended him thither; and thereupon he stayed in Flanders, and found an opportunity to represent the

condition of the catholics of Ireland in such a manner to the duke of Lorrain, (who, being nearly allied to the king, had always professed a singular affection to his majesty and his interest,) that in the end he prevailed with him to send them some relief: and as soon as it was known that the lord lieutenant was landed in France, the duke sent a person of principal trust about him (the abbot of St. Katherin's) into Ireland, with a credential, as his ambassador to the clergy and the catholic nobility and gentry of that kingdom, to treat with them, in order to their receiving aid and supplies from the duke, and to the end that his highness might in truth understand in what capacity they were of being relieved, and how much they could themselves contribute thereunto; it not being then known that the marquis of Ormond had left the king's authority behind him; but rather conceived, that, upon those many provocations and affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn, with his person, that countenance and authority they had so much undervalued, and so little deserved.

Who sends an ambassador to Ireland.

When the abbot landed in Ireland, (which was about the end of February, and within little more than two months after the lord lieutenant departed from thence,) he heard that the marquis of Clanrickard was the king's deputy; and thereupon "he "gave him presently notice of his arrival, addressed "himself to him, shewed his commission and cre-"dentials, and assured him, that the duke his mas-"ter had so entire an affection to the king of Eng-"land, (the preservation of whose interest in that "kingdom was the chief motive to him to offer his "assistance,) that if he had known any person had

Ambassador from Lorrain applied to the lord deputy.

"been intrusted there with his majesty's authority, "he would have addressed himself to him, and to "no other. And that he finding his lordship in- "vested with that power, did, what he knew his "master expected at his hands, apply himself unto "him, with and by whose directions he would alone "steer himself through that negociation." He told him, "the duke had already disbursed six thousand "pistoles for the supplying them with those things "he heard they stood most in need of, which were "brought over by a religious person who came with "him; and that he was ready to be informed of "what they would desire from his highness, that "might enable them to resist the enemy; and that "he would consent to any thing that was reason- "able for him to undertake."

Lord deputy appoints commissioners to confer with him.

Hereupon the lord deputy appointed a committee of the commissioners of trust, together with some of the prelates, to confer with the ambassador, to receive any overtures from him, and to present them to him with their advice thereupon. They met accordingly, and received the propositions from the ambassador; such as were so unagreeable to the professions he had made of respect to the king, and indeed so inconsistent with the king's honour and interest, that there was great reason to suspect that they proceeded rather from the encouragement and contrivance of the Irish, than from his own temper and disposition: and this was the more believed, when, instead of returning the propositions to the lord deputy, they kept the same in their own hands, put out some of those who were appointed by him to be of the committee, and chose others in their places, and proceeded in the treaty, without giving

Their unfair negociation.

the deputy any account of what was demanded by the ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer to him: of all which the deputy took notice, and thereupon forbad them to proceed any further in that way, and restrained them to certain articles, which he sent to them; which contained what he thought fit to offer to the ambassador, and gave them power only to treat upon the same: notwithstanding this positive direction, they proceeded in their treaty with the ambassador, and sent an advice to the deputy to consent to the articles proposed by him; since, they said, he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, than that the treaty should be broken off.

The deputy as positively declared, that what was demanded was so derogatory to the honour of the king his master, and destructive to his interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the town: and when the ambassador sent to him, to desire to see him, and to take his leave of him, he absolutely refused, and sent him word,

Message from the lord deputy to the ambassador.

"that he would neither pay his civility to, nor receive it from, a person who had so much swerved "from the professions made by himself, and who "had presumed to make propositions so dishonourable to the king his master, and, he believed, so "contrary to the good pleasure of the duke of Lorrain; and that he would send away an express to "the duke, to inform him of his miscarriage; and, "he presumed, he would do justice unto the king "upon him."

The ambassador recedes from his demands.

When the prelates saw that no obstinacy in the ambassador, nor importunity from them, could pre-

vail with the lord deputy, they, to shew what influence they had upon that treaty, persuaded the ambassador to consent to the same propositions which he had formerly (no doubt by the same advice) rejected; and thereupon to make the sum, formerly disbursed by the duke at his coming out of Flanders, full twenty thousand pounds: and the lord deputy sent a couple of gentlemen into Flanders, to treat further with the duke of Lorrain, according to such commission and instructions as he gave them, who arrived in those parts about the month of July following. The bishop of Fernes about the same time left Ireland, and came likewise to Bruxelles; and having (without the privity of the lord deputy) obtained some secret trust and delegation from the prelates of Ireland, and credit from them to the duke of Lorrain, he quickly interested himself in that treaty, and took upon him the greatest part in it, and that which he said was the sense of the nation: he reproached the persons employed and trusted by the lord deputy with all the proceedings which had been in Ireland by the consent of the confederate catholics; inveighed against their opposing the nuncio, and appealing against the excommunication issued out by him, he told them, (and all this by a letter under his hand,) "that he "was clearly of opinion, that the excommunication "was valid, and that the greatest statesmen, sol- "diers, citizens, and people first disobeying, and "now obstinate, are and were delivered to Satan, "and therefore forsaken of God, and unworthy of "victory and his holy blessing; and thereupon he "said he did, with all sincerity and charity, offer "his own humble opinion, what was to be done by

Lord deputy sends two gentlemen to treat further with the duke of Lorrain; viz. sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffery Brown, esq.

Carriage of the bishop of Fernes.

" them, which was to the end the agreement they " were making with his highness the duke of Lor- " rain might become profitable to the nation and ac- " ceptable in the eyes of God: that they would im- "mediately, with humbled hearts, make a submis- " sion to his holiness in the name of the nation, and " beg the apostolical benediction, that the light of " wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, suc- " cess, and the blessing of God, might return again " to them. He told them the necessity of doing this " was the greater, for that the person from whom " they came with authority (the marquis of Clan- " rickard, the lord deputy) was for several causes " excommunicated *a jure et homine*, and that he " was at Rome reputed a great contemner of the " authority and dignity of churchmen, and a perse- " cutor of the lord nuncio, and some bishops and " other churchmen;" and after many rude and bit- ter reproaches against the deputy, he used these words; " Do you think God will prosper a contract " grounded upon the authority of such a man?" and shortly after said, " that if the duke of Lorrain were " rightly informed of the business, he would never " enter upon a bargain to preserve, or rather restore, " holy religion in the kingdom, with agents bring- " ing their authority from a cursed withered hand;" and then concluded with these words; " As for my " part, upon your denial to hear my humble prayers, " which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw " myself, as a man despairing of any fruit to come " from an unsound trunk, where there is no sap of " grace, and am resolved to communicate no more " with you in that affair; but rather, to let the " prince know he is building his resolution of doing

" good upon an unhallowed foundation; and that " God therefore (unless himself would undertake to " obtain an absolution for the nation) will not give " him the grace to lay down the *lapis angularis* of " his own house again in that kingdom." This letter bore date at Bruxelles, on the 20th of July, 1651; the persons to whom it was directed being then in the same town. What the issue of the treaty was, and what regard there was had of the king's honour and interest, I shall not mention in this place, the articles being made public to the world; but shall only insert the letter which the lord deputy wrote to the duke of Lorrain, in answer to one he had received from his highness, and after he knew what transaction had been made with him. The letter was dated the 20th of October, 1651, in these words:

" *May it please your highness,*

" I had the honour, the 12th of this instant, to " receive a letter from your highness, dated the 10th " September; wherein you are pleased to express " your zeal for the advancement of the catholic re- " ligion in this kingdom, your great affection to the " king my master, and your good opinion of this " nation, and compassion of their sufferings, and " your great readiness to afford them aid and as- " sistance, even equal with your own nearest con- " cernments; and that your highness received such " satisfaction from the queen and duke of York, as " did much strengthen those resolutions, so as they " might sooner have appeared, but for the stay made " here by monsieur St. Katherine, and his large " northern voyage, upon his return; and referred

Letter from the lord deputy to the duke of Lorrain.

" what concerned the agreement to the relation of " those commissioners I had employed to your high- " ness, to treat upon that subject of assistance and " relief for this kingdom. I do, with much alacrity, " congratulate and applaud your highness's pious in- " tentions for the preservation of the catholic reli- " gion; your great and princely care to recover his " majesty's rights and interests from the rebel sub- " jects of England; and the high obligation you put " upon this nation by your tender regard of them, " and desire to redeem them from the great miseries " and afflictions they have endured, and the eminent " dangers they are in; and it shall be a principal " part of my ambition, to be an useful instrument " to serve your highness in so famous and glorious " an enterprise, and that I may be the more capable " to contribute somewhat to so religious and just " ends.

" First, in discharge of my conscience towards " God, my duty to the king my master, and to dis- " abuse your highness, and give you a perfect and " clear information, so far as comes to my know- " ledge, I am obliged to represent to your highness, " that, by the title of that agreement, and the ar- " ticles therein contained, made by those commis- " sioners I employed to your highness, and but lately " come into my hands; they have violated the trust " reposed in them, by having cast off and declined " the commission and instructions they had from me " in the king my master's behalf, and all other " powers that could by any other means be derived " from him; and pretend to make an agreement " with your highness, in the name of the kingdom " and people of Ireland, for which they had not, nor

" could have, any warrantable authority; and have " abused your highness by the counterfeit show of a " private instrument, fraudulently procured, and sign- " ed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable and " factious persons, ill affected to his majesty's author- " ity, without any consent or knowledge of the gene- " rality of the nation, or the persons of greatest qua- " lity and interest therein; and who, under a seem- " ing zeal, and pretence of service and affection to " your highness, labour more to satisfy their private " ambitions, than the advantage of religion or the " nation, or the prosperous success of your highness's " generous undertaking.

" And to manifest the clearness of my own pro- " ceedings, and to make such deceitful practices the " more apparent, I send your highness herewith an " authentic copy of my instructions, which accom- " panied their commission when I employed them to " your highness, as sufficient evidence to convince " them; and having thus fully manifested their " breach of public trust, I am obliged, in the king " my master's name, to protest against their unwar- " rantable proceedings, and to declare all agreements " and acts whatsoever, concluded by those commis- " sioners, to be void and illegal, not being derived " from, or consonant to, his majesty's authority. Be- " ing in duty obliged thus far to vindicate the king " my master's honour and authority, and to preserve " his just and undoubted rights from such deceitful " and rebellious practices; as likewise with an hum- " ble and respective care to prevent those prejudices " that might befall your highness, in being deluded " by counterfeit shows of doing you greater honour, " when it is apparent that any undertaking laid upon

" such false and ill grounded principles, as hath been
" smoothly disguised and fixed upon the nation, as
" their desire and request, must overthrow all those
" heroic and princely acts your highness hath pro-
" posed to yourself, for God's glory and service, the
" restoration of oppressed majesty, and the relief of
" this distressed kingdom, which would at least im-
" mediately fall into intestine broils and divisions, if
" not forcibly driven into desperation; I shall now,
" with a hopeful and cheerful importunity, upon a
" clear score, (free from those deceits,) propose unto
" your highness, that, for the advancement of all
" those great ends you aim at, (and in the king my
" master's behalf, and in the name of all the loyal ca-
" tholic subjects of this nation, and for the preserva-
" tion of those important cautionary places, that are
" security for your highness's past and present dis-
" bursements,) you will be pleased to quicken and
" hasten those aids and assistances you intended for
" the relief of Ireland; (and I shall, with my whole
" power, and through the greatest hazards, not only
" strive to defend them for you, and preserve all
" other ports, that may at all times be of advantage,
" and a safeguard to your fleets and men of war, hav-
" ing yet many good harbours left;) but also engage,
" in the king my master's name, whatsoever may
" prove to your satisfaction, that is any way con-
" sistent with his honour and authority; and have
" made my humble application to the queen's ma-
" jesty, and my lord lieutenant, (the king being at
" that time in Scotland,) further to agree, confirm,
" and secure, whatsoever may be of most advantage
" to your highness: and if the last galiot had brought
" us but ten thousand pounds, for this instant time,

" it would have contributed more to the recovery of " this kingdom, than far greater sums delayed, by " enabling our forces to meet together for the relief " of Limerick, which cannot but be in great distress, " after so long a siege; and which if lost, (though I " shall endeavour to prevent it,) will cost much trea- " sure to be regained: and if your highness shall be " pleased to go on cheerfully, freely, and seasonably " with this great work, I make no question but God " will give so great a blessing thereunto, as that my- " self, and all loyal subjects of this kingdom, may " soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to " posterity, *That your highness was the great and* " *glorious restorer of our religion, monarch, and* " *nation.*

" And that your highness may not be discouraged " or diverted from this generous enterprise, by the " malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a ne- " cessary duty in me to represent unto your highness, " that the bishop of Fernes, who, as I am informed, " hath gained some interest in your favour, is a per- " son that ever hath been violent against, and mali- " cious to, his majesty's authority and government, " and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting " all those divisions and differences that have rent " asunder this kingdom; the introduction to our pre- " sent miseries, and weak condition: and that your " highness may clearly know his disposition, I send " herewith a copy of part of a letter written by him, " directed to the lord Taaffe, sir Nicholas Plunkett, " and Mr. Jeffery Brown, (which was part of that " letter mentioned before,) and humbly submit it to " your judgment, whether those expressions be agree- " able to the spirit and temper of an apostolical spi-

" rit, and (considering whose person and authority I " represent) what ought to be the reward of such a " crime: I must therefore desire your highness, in " the king my master's behalf, that he may not be " countenanced or intrusted in any affairs that have " relation to his majesty's interests in this kingdom; " where I shall constantly endeavour, by all possible " service, to deserve your highness's good opinion, " and obtain that favour to be a most faithful ac- " knowledger of it, in the capacity and under the " title of

" Your highness's
" most humble and
" obliged servant,
" CLANRICKARD."

*Athenree*, 10*th* *Oct.* 1651.

It cannot be doubted, but that what this eminent catholic lord (who for loyalty and religion hath been and is despoiled of as great a fortune as subjects enjoy in any kingdom) hath said concerning that treaty, will find more credit with the world, than any thing that the bishop of Fernes, or any obscure loose friar, can publish in the bitterness of their spirit, who too much declare the irreverence they bear towards his majesty, by their want of duty, and rudeness to those who are intrusted to govern them, and the contempt they have of all laws, which are to restrain and contain them within the rules of obedience. One of the principal motives, which induced the marquis to submit to that great charge, and to undertake a province, which he knew would be very burdensome and grievous in several respects, was the joint promise that the city of Limerick and the town of Galway would pay all imaginable duty to him; the clergy

obliged themselves in that particular with all confidence, and the deputies of the places promised all that could be desired; but when the lord deputy found it necessary to settle that business, they would neither receive governor or garrison from him; and when he offered himself to stay in Limerick, (when Ireton was drawing before it,) and to run the same fortune with them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the lord lieutenant. It is true, both Limerick and Galway were content to receive soldiers, but they were of their own choosing, not such, either in number or quality, as the lord deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their security; they chose likewise their own governor, or rather kept the government themselves, and gave the title to one whom they thought least likely to contradict them; and, in a word, behaved themselves like two commonwealths, and obeyed the deputy no further than they were inclined to by their own conveniency; they who compounded with the rebels in the country, corresponded with their friends in the towns, and thereby gave the enemy intelligence of all that passed. Wonderful diligence was used to make it thought and believed that the independents were not uncharitable unto catholics, and that they wished not any compulsion should be used in matters of conscience; and when the acts of cruelty and blood, of putting their priests and prelates to ignominious deaths (of which there were new instances every day) were mentioned, it was answered, those proceedings were carried on by the power of the presbyterians, very much against the nature and principles of the other party.

Disobedience of Limerick and Galway to the lord deputy.

Irish correspond with the English rebels.

This licence of communication, and the evil conse-

The lord deputy unable to prevent this correspondence.

quences that must attend it, were enough understood by the lord deputy; but could be no more prevented, reformed, or punished, than he could infuse a new heart and spirit into the people: one instance will serve the turn. There was in the town one friar Anthony Gaughagan, who had always adhered to the nuncio, and opposed the king's authority to the utmost of his power: several letters written and sent by him into the rebels' quarters were intercepted and brought to the deputy; in which, though there were many things in cipher, there appeared much of the present state and condition of the town; and in one of them, dated the 4th February, 1651, there were these words: "If the service of God had been as "deep in the hearts of our nation as that idol of "Dagon, a foolish loyalty, a better course for the "honour and preservation had been taken in time." The deputy believed the crime to be so apparent, and of such a nature, that what accomplices soever he might have, none would have the courage to appear in his behalf; and that he might give the clergy an opportunity to shew their zeal in a business that so much concerned their common safety, he referred the examination of the friar to the bishops, (whereof there were three or four then in the town,) and to some other of the principal clergy; and appointed them to require him to produce the cipher which he had used, and to examine him to whom the letters were intended, they being directed to counterfeit and supposititious names. The cipher was produced accordingly; and thereby many expressions in the letter appeared full of neglect and reproach of the king, and others of insolency and contumely towards the lord deputy; they mentioned, "the little hope left of

Instanced in friar Anthony.

"relief from the duke of Lorrain, and that they re-
"solved to send one to treat with the rebels, and
"had found a private means of conveying a person
"to that purpose." The friar promised "to use all
"his diligence to dispose the catholics to have a good
"opinion of the independents, and made some re-
"quests concerning himself." All that he alleged for his defence was, that the letters written by him were to one who was employed by the court of Rome; that he had no ill meaning against the king or the deputy; and that he had himself a trust from Rome, and instructions from the secretary of the congregation *de propaganda fide;* and the bishops certified that they had seen the instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the temporal state: and this was all the satisfaction and all the justice the lord deputy could procure, though he wrote several letters of expostulation to the bishops thereupon. And whether this be a part of the privileges and immunities of the catholic Roman church, and enjoyed in any catholic country; and whether it can be indulged to them in any other country where the authority of the bishop of Rome is not submitted unto, we must leave to the world to judge and determine. And if protestant kings and princes are provident, and severe for the prevention of such practices, and for the establishing their own security, it must not be imputed to an unreasonable jealousy, or a prejudice to the Roman catholic religion; but to the unreasonableness and presumption of those men, who have pretended religion for their warrant or excuse for the most unlawful and most unjustifiable actions. A good caution.

This was the obedience and submission they paid

The consequences of the disobedience and disloyalty of the Irish clergy.

to the king's authority and government: let us now see what government they provided for themselves; and what course they, who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were trusted by the king, took for their own security and preservation; and what power the bishops and clergy had to support their own interest and dignity, after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the king.

The city of Limerick was entirely governed by the clergy: how it rejected the first peace in the year 1646; affronted the herald king at arms, when he came to proclaim it; wounded and turned out the mayor, and chose Dominic Fanning, the captain of that tumult and outrage, mayor in his place; and how it submitted to the good-will and pleasure of the nuncio thereupon, is before remembered. How it behaved itself towards the marquis of Ormond after the second peace, and after it had promised to receive a garrison; how father Wolfe, a friar, raised a mutiny, upon which they refused to receive it, or to admit the lord lieutenant into the town, when upon their own invitation he was come even into the gate, is likewise before set down. Contrary to their own obligation and solemn promise, they continued the same obstinacy to the marquis of Clanrickard; refused to receive such a governor and garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to receive himself into the town with the power and authority of deputy, after he had assumed that place and title upon their own importunity and promise of obedience. However, he sent such men to them, both officers and soldiers, as they desired, and no others: let us see the success.

As soon as Ireton came before it, and before they were pressed with any wants, they began to discourse of treating with the rebels. All the considerations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the improbability of their receiving any succour proportionable to their wants; yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known, that Ireton would except very many principal persons among them, to whom no mercy should be shewed; neither could they expect any conditions for the exercise of their religion, which they had hitherto been so jealous of. The governor had only the title, and the power to set the watch; but the mayor kept the keys, and had many of the principal officers at his devotion. Upon the twenty-third day of October, a mixed council of officers, and of those of the civil government, met in the town-house, to consult what was to be done in order to a treaty with the enemy; and after a long debate, it was concluded by the major part, "that "they would proceed to a treaty, and that they "would not break it off upon the exemption of "any persons from quarter, or confiscation of their "goods." The next day was appointed for the choosing commissioners to be sent to the rebels: and the result of yesterday's debate being known in the town, they no sooner met for the election of commissioners for the treaty, than the bishops of Limerick and Emly, with the clergy, came to the town-house, and "threatened to issue out an excommu- "nication against them, if they proceeded in those "counsels: the effect whereof would be to deliver "up the prelates to be slaughtered." Notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming of the

Limerick besieged.

A party in it resolve to surrender.

persons who should treat for them. Whereupon the bishops published their excommunication, with a perpetual interdict of the city, which was fixed on the doors of all the churches and chapels in the town: but, alas! those fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used, to retain any virtue in time of need; as catholic as the town was, (and there was not one protestant in it,) the excommunication wrought no effect. But that very night, colonel Fennell, and other officers of the combination, who pressed on the treaty, possessed themselves of St. John's gate and Cluane towers, and drove the guards from thence; and when major general O'Neil (who had the title of governor of the town) came thither, and demanded "by what authority "they were there?" he having given them orders to guard another quarter of the town: they answered, "the best of the town knew and approved "of what they did." It was very true, the mayor was of the party, and had delivered the keys of that port to colonel Fennell, though he denied it to the other party that opposed the treaty. The governor called a council of war, and sent for Fennell to appear before them, who refused to come; and being supplied with powder from the mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town, and declared that he would not quit the place that he was possessed of, till the city should be yielded to the enemy. The commissioners were sent out to Ireton, who would give no other conditions, than that "the garrison should "lay down their arms, the officers retaining their "swords, and march to what place they would;" except only those who were exempt from mercy, (who, of soldiers and citizens, amounted to the

Whereupon the bishops publish an excommunication, but in vain.

Colonel Fennell seizes St. John's gate and Cluane towers.

Their shameful capitulation.

number of twenty-four.) " The inhabitants had " three months time assigned to them to transport " their persons, and three months more to remove " their goods, without any place of the kingdom ap- " pointed, in which they might live." It cannot be believed that these unequal and severe conditions would have been accepted from an army not strong enough to have imposed them upon a people unwilling to have submitted to them, and in a season of the year that alone would have secured a place less provided for resistance, (for it was now the end of October, or the beginning of November,) but that colonel Fennell, the same night these hard demands were sent into the town, received into St. John's gate tower two hundred men from Ireton, and others were removed into another fort, called Prite's Mill; where, after they had continued about two days, and the people of the town not yet agreeing what they would do, a drum was sent through the city, commanding all manner of troopers and soldiers in pay within the town to repair to our Lady's church, and there to lay down their arms; which was presently obeyed; and the soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the town, Ireton marched in, received the keys, and was without any contradiction quietly possessed of all he desired, causing as many of the excepted persons as could be found to be committed to prison.

In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the catholic Irish; and this obedience did the prelates and clergy, in their need, receive from those over whom they had power enough to seduce them from the duty they owed to the king, and from submitting to his authority; and now was the harvest

when they gathered the fruit of all their labours.

The rebels exercise their usual cruelty.

The instances of severity and blood, which the rebels gave upon their being possessed of this place, were very remarkable: the bishop of Limerick had that dexterity and good fortune, that either by marching out among the common soldiers, or by concealing himself with some faithful friend in the town, (which is not so probable,) he escaped their hands, who manifested enough what his portion would have been by the treatment they gave to the bishop of Emely, whom they took, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, caused to be publicly hanged. This unhappy prelate had, from the beginning, opposed with the greatest passion the king's authority, and most obstinately adhered to the nuncio, and to that party still, which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably and ignominiously put to death by those who were equally enemies to the king, and in that city from whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his majesty's authority. It may be remembered in the former part of this discourse, that when the king at arms proclaimed the first peace in Limerick, in the year 1646, one Dominic Fanning, a citizen of the town, raised a mutiny, and led on that rabble, which committed that violence upon the herald, and assaulted and wounded the mayor, and was himself made mayor in his place by the nuncio, and so kept that town in rebellion. The same man continued the same spirit against his majesty's authority, and always opposed the receiving of a garrison, when, after the last peace, the lord lieutenant so often and so earnestly pressed the same, as the only means to

Bishop of Emely hanged.

preserve the city. This Dominic Fanning, being one of those twenty-four which Ireton had excepted, found a way among the common soldiers to get out of the town, notwithstanding all the diligence that they used to discover him: when he was free and in safety, he returned to the town to fetch some money that he had privately hid, and to make some provision for his subsistence, which he had not time to do before. But going in the night to his own house, his wife refused to receive him, or to assist him with any thing; whereupon he departed: and after he had walked up and down the streets some time, the weather being extremely cold, he went to the main guard, where was a good fire, and being discovered to be a stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confessed, that he was Dominic Fanning, for whom such strict search had been made: he was apprehended, and the next morning carried before the governor, and immediately hanged.

The fate of Dominic Fanning, the rioter.

There was another example no less memorable, in which two other notorious persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy parts in the same city, when the marquis of Ormond had so often, and in vain, pressed Limerick to receive a garrison, and the commissioners of trust had used all their persuasions and authority to the same purpose. The rebels' army being then so near, that it was believed they intended to sit down before it, the council of the town sent two of the aldermen to invite the lord lieutenant thither, being within less than a day's journey of the city. How he was used when he came almost to the gates, is before remembered; and how the same aldermen were sent out to inform him, that there was a mutiny raised to hinder

his being received; and till that was appeased or composed, he was desired to forbear approaching nearer. That mutiny was raised by one Wolfe, a friar, who persuaded the simple people, that the receiving the lord lieutenant would be a great prejudice to their religion; which, with the countenance of alderman Thomas Stretch, who was then mayor of that city, easily raised the tumult that caused the gates to be shut when he was ready to enter. This alderman and that friar were both taken, upon the surrender of Limerick, and both, without any formality of justice, hanged by those, who, but by them, would never in probability have been masters of the town. Lastly, this very colonel Fennell, who, by possessing himself of a port, and turning the cannon upon the town, betrayed the place to the rebels, though he had for the present the benefit of those articles, was, within few months after, taken by them, and, without any consideration of his late merit, was hanged, as the rest had been: in a word, all those who had been the first causers and raisers of the rebellion, or who with most malice and obstinacy opposed their return to the king's obedience, and had the misfortune to fall into the rebels' hands, as the bishop of Raffoe, who was taken and hanged by the lord Broghill; Jeffery Baron, who kept Waterford from receiving the lord lieutenant, taken afterwards at Limerick, and hanged there; and many others, were all made the examples of unusual rigour by the rebels, and are such monuments of calamity as are not frequently met with in story, and ought to be revolved by the survivors upon a just and pious recollection of God's wonderful proceedings against them.

And of alderman Stretch and friar Wolfe.

And even colonel Fennell, by whose treachery the rebels were possessed of the city.

Others murdered by the rebels; instances of God's justice, but their cruelty.

The business of Limerick being thus over, Ireton, within a few days after, and without drawing his army nearer than the castle of Clare, sent a most insolent summons to the town of Galway, wishing them to put him to no more trouble, lest they fared as Limerick did; adding such other threats as he thought most like to make impression upon them; and a great impression they did make: but by the death of Ireton they had a little respite, the rebels not being so entirely united under command as before; and then the town of Galway addressed themselves to the lord deputy, and desired his assistance, "promising all obedience to his majesty's authority "in him:" nor was he so much discouraged by their former carriage, and their having accepted the articles made with the duke of Lorrain, and their declaring him to be their protector, without ever communicating it to the lord deputy, as to decline having further to do with them. But upon their first address to him, he sent his secretary to them, with some directions; and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the nobility, prelates, and principal gentry, as could with safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their defence; they having still men enough dispersed in several parties to resist the enemy, if they were drawn together and united among themselves; and the town of Galway was so good a port, that any supplies or succours might come from abroad to them.

Ireton's insulting summons to the town of Galway.

His death.

Galway desires the protection of the lord deputy.

All disputes upon command being quickly composed among the rebels, a small party was sent, under the command of sir Charles Coote, to straiten Galway; which wrought so far upon the assembly there, that they importuned the deputy to give them

But on appearance of a party of the rebels desire to capitulate.

leave to send to the commander in chief of the rebels for a safe conduct for their commissioners, "to treat "for some conditions for the nation, upon which they "might submit to the government of the parliament;" professing that they would in the mean time "make "such preparations for their defence, that if the par- "liament would not give them good and ample con- "ditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear "rate, as should make their conquest of little use to "their enemies." But when they found that they could not have so much as a safe conduct sent for their commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat for the nation, but only that particular places and persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, on such terms as others had done, their spirits failed them; and, after a very little deliberation, and before they put the rebels to the trouble of besieging them, without so much as consulting with the lord deputy, or asking his leave, (although he was less than half a day's journey of the town,) they entered into a treaty, and, in a short time after, surrendered the town into the hands of the rebels, who were amazed to see upon what easy terms they parted with their last town; having still, in loose parties over the kingdom, more men in arms to have defended it, than the English could have brought against it.

The town surrendered.

The marquis of Clanrickard did not leave the kingdom in many months after the surrender of this town; but endeavoured, by all means possible, to draw the scattered forces together, that he might once fight the rebels. But at last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received his majesty's commands, "to take care of his own security, and

"that he fell not into the rebels' hands;" after he saw those, upon whose public fidelity and private affections he depended as much as upon any, fall every day from him, and submit to the rebels, upon such conditions as did hardly assure them of life at the best, having only liberty to transport themselves to the service of such foreign princes, as the rebels believed to be their friends; and after he was reduced to those straits, that he durst not reside twenty-four hours in one place, for fear of being betrayed, and delivered up into the hands of the rebels; and having no port to friend, where a vessel might attend to transport him; he was in the end compelled to ask a pass from the rebels, which they willingly and readily sent to him; and which he accepted, without making any other conditions for himself, than that he might for some time remain secure within their quarters, without taking the oaths usually imposed by them; and afterwards have liberty to transport himself into parts beyond the sea. Whereas, if he had demanded a good proportion to be allowed out of his own great estate, and promised to have given them no further trouble, it is probable they would have consented to it: but the integrity and greatness of his heart would not suffer him to enjoy any thing by the favour and permission of those, whose destruction he desired, and meant always to prosecute: and so he transported himself, in a vessel belonging to the rebels, out of Ireland, about March or April 1652, after he had borne the title of the king's deputy of that kingdom little more than two years, with very little more obedience from the catholic Irish, than had before been paid to the lord lieutenant.

Marquis of Clanrickard at last forced to leave the kingdom.

This was the fate of that unhappy kingdom, both under the protestant and the Roman catholic governors; and as the catholic governor, and all other catholics over whom he had power, and indeed very many of the principal catholics of that kingdom, paid all the obedience due to the lord lieutenant, whilst he remained amongst them with the king's authority; so the same persons who most opposed him, and crossed and hindered the submission to his orders, and would have his religion to be believed the cause of the disobedience he found in the people, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the catholic governor: the same corporations continued the same disobedience to the latter, as well as to the former; and the same prelates and clergy supported and encouraged them in it; and, as if the public calamity and judgments, and the particular fate that hath befallen many of their friends, had made no impression upon their spirits, they have transplanted their uncharitableness and animosities, to keep them company in their banishment; and the same persons continue their virulency and bitterness against the one and the other, justify all those proceedings which have been the groundwork of theirs and their country's destruction, and of almost the extirpation of the catholic religion out of that kingdom; and yet are so extremely blinded with their passion, that they hope to be thought to suffer upon the impulsion of conscience, and for the Roman catholic religion, and, which is more strange, for their loyalty and allegiance to the king: and at the same time would be believed to be most obedient subjects to the king, and the most zealous assertors of the regal power; and at the same time justify and magnify the pro-

ceedings of the nuncio, reproach those catholics who adhered to the lord lieutenant, and to the peace made by the nation, as excommunicated persons; and all the other acts done afterwards by the clergy, without the least shadow of law or gospel to support them.

Having drawn this discourse to a greater length, than in the beginning I thought I should have had occasion to have done; I shall conclude with the earnest desires with which I began, that the small seduced number of that unhappy nation, which continue in the same error they began, and persevere in building upon such foundations as can support no structure of the catholic religion or loyalty, would seriously revolve what they have done; the condition which that nation enjoyed before the late rebellion, and the state into which they are now fallen; how much they have trespassed against the laws of God and the laws of the kingdom, in kindling that fire which hath consumed all their habitations, and is not yet extinguished, nor can be, but by their real acknowledgment and repentance. Let them remember, that they are subjects to a protestant king, and in a kingdom where the protestant religion is by the laws established, and the Roman catholic at least not countenanced and supported; and how incongruous a thing it is, and destructive to their own ends, to have it believed, that their religion doth oblige or prompt them to any actions repugnant to the loyalty they owe to their king, or to that obedience, without which the peace of the kingdom cannot be preserved: let them be so modest as not to affect to be thought better catholics than those

The conclusion.

of their own country, who differ from them in the profession they make, and are much superior to them in quality and number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another faith than what the catholic church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves obliged by their religion to do that as Irish catholics, or to justify it, (when they have done it,) which Italian, Spanish, and French catholics (whose religion is supported by law, and the other condemned) would hold sinful to do, though they had the pope's authority and command for every individual act. Do the prelates of the French church believe themselves qualified to excommunicate marshal Turenne, because he is not a Roman catholic, and is thought to be an enemy to that profession? And can they absolve his soldiers from obedience to him, whilst the king of France makes him general of his army? And what would the most Christian king do, if his prelates presumed to exercise that jurisdiction? If the catholics of Catalonia should after so many years rebellion return to their allegiance upon articles of indemnity from their king, and any nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those articles, as not ample enough for their security, would the king of Spain be well pleased with that presumption, and excuse those subjects, who out of the terror of such an excommunication should fall from that duty they had newly professed to him, or who sought absolution for not submitting to it? Will the republic of Venice, or any prince of Italy, suffer their subjects to pay such an obedience to St. Peter's chair, or will they distinguish proceedings against their subjects in such a spiritual rebellion,

and between those who raise arms, seize their forts, or conspire the death of their sovereign? If none of these catholic nations are liable to those obligations, nor can enjoy these privileges, how came the subjects of Ireland to be possessed of them, and the king of Ireland to be so much below his other brethren, the Christian monarchs? If their religion will not allow the same obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill argument to induce him to be gracious to that religion. Away then with that antichristian spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and discrediting the catholic religion, as if it would not suffer its children to be dutiful and loyal subjects to protestant kings and princes; and let what was done in the beginning and progress of the rebellion against the elements of Christianity be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more justified to the world; and what was done in violation of the laws and government be acknowledged and excused to the king, by the distemper and accidents of the times, and the unjustifiable proceedings of those who were unhappily intrusted with the administration of justice and policy, without defending them by such principles as must leave the laws in danger always to be invaded by the same licence. Away with that uncharitable and undermining spirit of fomenting jealousy and animosity against the Roman catholic religion and the professors of it, by owning and professing an incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those who are not of the same faith, and whose profession is cherished by the established laws of the land, the indulgence whereof the other desires

and expects; and of raising enemies to a nation, by avowing any national distrust, and dislike of any who have been for so many ages incorporated with them under the same obligation of religion or allegiance: and let there be a joint endeavour and emulation to justify and commend their several professions of distinct faiths, by producing the unquestionable effects of true religion, in the piety and sanctity of their lives towards God, the duty and obedience of their actions towards the king, and the kindness and peaceableness of their conversation towards each other, and all their fellow-subjects. Lastly, away with that immodest and rude spirit of reproaching and reviling those who, by their extraction, quality, and interest, are their superiors, and have been, or shall be, placed by the king in any degree of government or command over them; since the duty and obedience due to kings and princes includes a proportion of respect and reverence towards their deputies and ministers of trust; and let such civility of address and decency of language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid consideration of their desires and complaints, at least that a just prejudice against their manners may not bring a fatal prejudice upon their profession and pretences. In a word, let them believe that any virulency, bitterness, and distemper of language, is not the plaster of Isaiah, to heal the wound, but of Hezekiah, to make it raw, though it were healed before; and let them make that sanctified use of what they have done and what they have suffered; of what they have heard, and what they have seen; that they may not fall under that curse of our Sa-

viour himself; *That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.*

THE END.

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THE END.

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